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THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY dinners, on January 14, sixty in number, presage a vigorous and united campaign with the drift steadily toward Governor Roosevelt for the nomination. There can be no doubt that if the convention were to be held on February 1 it would be a walkover for him. But February 1 is not June 1, and much may happen in the meantime. If the situation continues about as it is, the chances will overwhelmingly favor the Governor of New York. In a sense he is winning by default. We cannot believe that the Democratic Party will nominate Governor Ritchie, a wet who stands upon a platform of States' rights that was out of date years ago. We do not think that the party will turn to Newton D. Baker, a wet who has, consistently and courageously, again announced his adherence to the League of Nations and demanded that the United States enter the League at once. He is also unthinkable as a Presidential candidate because, as president of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Cleveland, he signed and published full-page newspaper advertisements of that organization demanding the open shop in Cleveland and attacking organized labor. Nor does it seem to us practical politics for the party to select a man who was so identified with the Administration of Woodrow Wilson. All of this makes a grave situation for the party. On the other side there is comic relief: Postmaster General Brown has announced to the world the surprising news that Mr. Hoover is a candidate for renomination. What a shock! We hasten to pass on to the Postmaster General, Mr. Hoover's manager, as an excellent slogan for use in his campaign, one that has just been sent to us for our indorsement: "Don't swap toboggans in the middle of the slide."

FOUR MORE EUROPEAN NATIONS are "on the brink of default." Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, and Jugoslavia are said to be about to follow Hungary's example and to announce their inability to meet their foreign interest payments, which will painfully affect the American holders of some $600,000,000 of securities then to be placed in the defaulting class. Thus the financial and economic disintegration of Europe goes on apace. It need surprise no one. For several years the inevitability of the breakdown has been evident to all who really studied the situation. Only the men responsible for the several governments have refused to see it and to take the necessary steps to ward it off and to restore Europe to economic sanity. That the United States has played an unenlightened, and in some respects a deliberately inimical, role does not alter the fact that the European nations themselves, because of the post-war treaties, their tariff folly, and in some cases their voluntary assumption of crushing military burdens, have contributed more than their share to the coming catastrophe. Meanwhile the conference at Lausanne, at this writing scheduled for January 25 (with the French reported to be eager to postpone it until June!), has a last chance to mend matters before it is too late.

JAPAN'S NAIVETE in conducting diplomatic negotiations incidental to her occupation of Manchuria may yet prove her undoing. Japanese aggression on the Asiatic mainland has been formally condemned at Geneva and elsewhere as being in direct violation of the Kellogg Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty. That Japan's action did violate these two agreements cannot be denied, and has not been denied anywhere outside Japan. Nevertheless, in replying to Secretary Stimson's recent note, the new Foreign Minister, Kenkichi Yoshizawa, said:

> The Government of Japan is well aware that the Government of the United States could always be relied upon to do everything in their power to support Japan's efforts to secure full and complete fulfilment in every detail of the treaties of Washington and the Kellogg treaty for the outlawry of war. They are glad to receive this additional assurance of the fact.

Such impudent twisting of the facts will win Japan no new

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friends in this country. With respect to Russia the Japanese have shown themselves undiplomatically rude. Russia's interest in North Manchuria is hardly less definite than Japan's interest in South Manchuria. Japanese military activities in the neighborhood of Tsitsihar jeopardized Russian interests, but Moscow remained patient and so avoided a conflict with Tokio. More recently Moscow proposed that the two countries negotiate a non-aggression pact, apparently in the hope of preventing a future Russo-Japanese conflict over Manchuria. But the Japanese allowed the proposal to lie unanswered until Moscow made a second inquiry. Thereupon the Japanese replied very curtly that they had not yet got around to studying the Russian proposal.

FRENCH POLITICS as well as the German situation played a large part in the reconstruction of the French Cabinet. With the national elections only a few months off, the Radical and other left-wing parties did not want to prejudice their excellent opportunity for a victory at the polls by sharing responsibility with their opponents for the handling of the new reparations negotiations. The Radicals believe that public opinion in France is now ready to accept some modification in French reparations policy, and they are also convinced that Premier Laval has decided not to depart from France's traditionally stern attitude toward Germany. By not accepting his invitation to join the new government they have left themselves free to attack the Laval program, whatever that may be, during the election campaign. It may be noted that the only important change in the Cabinet was the substitution of Premier Laval for Aristide Briand in the foreign ministry. Although Briand has lost much of his domestic political influence, he has lost little of his international prestige. Hence it was necessary to offer Briand a place in the Cabinet without portfolio so that the rest of Europe would not be too greatly alarmed by the extremely nationalistic composition of the French government on the eve of the delicate reparations and disarmament negotiations.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO representatives of the moderate left-wing parties in Poland met in Cracow, denounced the Pilsudski dictatorship, and demanded the resignation of President Moscicki. A few days ago in Warsaw ten leaders of these parties, including Vincent Witos, thrice Premier of the Polish republic, were sentenced to prison on the ground that the resolutions adopted by the Cracow congress were revolutionary in intent. Behind these bare facts lies a tale of repression and brutality that began with the arrest of the ten party leaders and numerous other political opponents of Pilsudski just before the November, 1930, elections. The treatment to which these men were subjected while held in Brest-Litovsk fortress was brutal and inhuman. Pilsudski long ago earned the undying enmity of the National Democrats of the right; he has now again defied the great masses of the working people and peasants, whose party leaders were convicted. He has little, if any, popular support left, and must depend more than ever on his army. In addition, he has on his hands the task of "pacifying" the Ukraine, of quieting the fears of the Lithuanians in the Vilna district, and of solving the increasingly important problem of the Corridor. Poland remains a distinct threat to the peace of Europe.

BRITAIN IS FINDING OUT in India that, as always, one repression necessitates another and cruelty is inevitably cumulative. Having embarked on a course of barbarism toward adults, it has not been easy to handle children with that sportsmanship and fair play which have sometimes been such admirable British characteristics. Incredible to relate, one nine-year-old boy, shouting his readiness to die for Gandhi, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for anti-British demonstrations. But not only are native followers of Gandhi suspected; even American missionaries, it appears, are to be denied the privilege of remaining in the peninsula if they are discovered to have sympathy for the Indian cause. The Reverend G. B. Halstead has been forced to resign as social director of Lucknow Christian College for just that reason, and has followed the government's advice to leave the country. We can assure our British cousins that the outrages in India arouse no enthusiasm in the United States, though we have not forgotten our own imperialist sins; and that the threatened expulsion of any American from India who, in Christian sympathy, is attracted by the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi will hardly increase American confidence in Britain's capacity to rule.

PETER WITT, liberal and independent candidate, was defeated by two machine politicians in the mayoralty primary in Cleveland on January 12. The winning candidates, who will face each other in the final election on February 16, are Daniel E. Morgan, Republican, and Ray T. Miller, Democrat. Mr. Witt's defeat was surprising as he had been given a comfortable lead in virtually all the pre-election straw votes. It was all the more surprising in view of the fact that Cleveland was the only large city outside of Wisconsin carried by Senator La Follette in the 1924 Presidential campaign. Witt had Socialist and liberal support though some voters who might have followed him were diverted to Dr. F. W. Walz, another independent candidate. Organized labor indorsed the Republican machine candidate not without considerable protest from the rank and file. One feature of the primary that has caused widespread comment was the increase in Communist strength. The Communist vote was still small, totaling only 5,242, but this was about five times more than the radical party had ever before polled in Cleveland. It is worth noting that the Communist candidate, I. O. Ford, stood alone in emphasizing unemployment relief as the major issue in the campaign. We are sorry to record Mr. Witt's defeat, for he is a true reformer and a man of unfailing courage.

NO MATTER WITH WHAT WEAKNESS our authorities act in regard to an economic crisis, they can always summon force and energy to repress its protesting victims. Anticipating mob demonstrations or even food riots, the Thirty-third Division, Illinois National Guard has recently issued a 104-page manual entitled "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances." There is no sentimental nonsense about this program for feeding bullets to hungry rebels. Pointing out that troop commanders can rely for aid upon Legion posts and chambers of commerce, the manual urges that "the proper performance of riot duty requires the adoption of and adherence to general plans which are tests of the officer's ability. An ambitious officer may, by decisive action and proper distribution of troops

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acquire fame." The manual's plans cover the posting of sharpshooters on roofs to pick off rioters from the rear, the dropping of aviation bombs into buildings where armed mobs have taken refuge, and the use of machine-guns, tear gas, and white-phosphorus grenades. Some of the further constructive suggestions of this forward-looking pamphlet are as follows: "Blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob"; "never fire over the heads of rioters"; "a subordinate should never be placed on riot duty with any definite restrictions as to the amount of force to be used." The Socialist Party, which first called public notice to the manual, pointedly inquires: "Is the situation to be left to those who know nothing to appease hunger but force?"

IN ALL THE FINANCIAL MISERY of the cities, one bright spot stands out—Milwaukee. During 1931 the city paid all its salaries and bills, expended hundreds of thousands of dollars for unemployed relief, and wound up the year with a bank balance of about $4,000,000. The Mayor of Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan, is a Socialist who has been reelected to that office ever since 1916—one of those wicked Socialists who wish to ruin America and destroy our precious Constitution—and this is the result. It is, of course, not entirely the work of the Mayor; there is a nonpartisan Controller who watches expenditures like a hawk. It is not simply because the Mayor is a Socialist. It is due primarily to the fact that the Mayor is honest and sincere, that he has felt he owed it to his party as well as to the city to make a splendid record, and that after fifteen years of service he is a master of his job. Socialism itself is hardly farther advanced in Milwaukee than elsewhere, yet the city government does reflect the spirit of that movement and its zeal for banning political corruption wherever encountered. Nor is Milwaukee noteworthy merely on the financial side. It has no gangsters; its police are efficient; its criminal courts are the speediest in the country, and the justice they dispense is even-handed. New York, Chicago, and other cities could have this sort of government—if they wished it.

THE COMMISSIONER OF LICENSES of New York City has taken things into his own hands in the matter of censorship. In an order to newsdealers in the city, Commissioner Geraghty issued the warning that continued sale of indecent publications would result in a revocation of licenses. One wonders if it is worth while respectfully to point out to the Commissioner that, at least in the absence of advices to the contrary, the courts in New York City are still functioning; and that if any citizen of the city, or even any license commissioner, believes that obscene publications are being displayed for sale upon any newsstand, he may protest to the police, make charges to the District Attorney, and wait for an indictment and a jury trial. If such citizen feels it necessary immediately to stop the offending display, he may, we suppose, appeal for an injunction to restrain the dealer while the case is pending. The National Council on Freedom from Censorship has issued a letter of protest to Mr. Geraghty and to District Attorney Crain, not only pointing out how high-handed Mr. Geraghty's methods are but urging that action—if any—be taken against the publishers of certain magazines instead of the newsdealers. *The Nation's* position on so-called obscene publications is well known; it believes that the public should be its own censor in the matter, and that it is capable of refusing to buy magazines which it does not like. But while the courts still may exercise the right of censorship, surely that right should not be left to any one official.

THE SEASON FOR THE REPORTS of university presidents is upon us. At Columbia as usual President Butler begins with a list of the "outstanding happenings of the year," covering some ten pages. "Outstanding happenings" range from the splendid Columbia University edition of the works of John Milton to the "formal presentation by the university of gates to the graveyards in which the bodies of two early presidents of the university are buried." Perhaps the most questionable item in President Butler's report is his catalogue of the various institutions which by affiliation or otherwise now constitute Columbia University. This catalogue covers three pages and includes Columbia College and its graduate school, for the financing and directing of which Columbia is responsible, but it also includes a host of other institutions, for the financing of which Columbia has no responsibility whatever, despite the fact that it uses its name and good-will in their behalf. It is difficult to understand how the President of Columbia University, with his diversified interests, some of them, such as his interest in international peace, highly creditable to him, can possibly influence the conduct or quality of a school in Porto Rico, a social center in Greenwich Village, or a college ninety miles up the Hudson. The inclusion of these and other irrelevant activities and institutions has, as President Butler reports, the great advantage of swelling the total enrolment of the institution to something like 50,000, of whom almost 40,000 are "resident." It would seem that these figures contain in themselves the severest possible criticism of the policies upon which the university has embarked.

JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES has bowed to the inevitable and stepped down from the Supreme Court of the United States with all the dignity and wisdom that have marked his whole career and so profoundly endeared him to the American people. We wish that we could be as philosophical as he. But the retirement of this noble spirit moves us deeply. For one thing he is in his person the final link with the Civil War period, the America of Lincoln and Grant, the boys in blue, the men in gray. His retirement marks the final closing of an era. In all the writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the father of the Justice, there is nothing more touching than the essay written for the *Atlantic Monthly* in which he told of his "hunt for the captain" after the battle at Antietam. In another three months it will be exactly seventy years since that father's search for the son he adored, who has lived so long to honor him and his country. Now the question comes as to who should be his successor. Surely there is one man who stands out as entirely fit, Benjamin N. Cardozo, the Chief Justice of the New York State Court of Appeals. We shall be told that his appointment, or that of Judge Learned Hand, who also merits promotion to the Supreme Court, is impossible because there are already two judges on the Supreme Court from the Empire State. We have never believed in the geographical rule of appointments. It seems to us that the sole question should be the fitness of the man, and as to Judge Cardozo's fitness there can be no doubt whatever.

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Bond Issues or Starvation

THE government is preparing to borrow money to help needy banks and industrial corporations. May it not also borrow money to help the millions of unemployed workers? May we not employ the power of the state to prevent widespread suffering and hunger as well as bankruptcies and market losses? Economic law may have its own answers to these questions, but economics alone cannot be permitted to dictate our course. We cannot turn from our door those who are starving today, or those who may be starving tomorrow, simply because to help them with the aid of government funds would be uneconomic. To do so would be to ignore completely our collective social responsibility. But we do not admit that government relief for the workless and their numerous dependents would violate economic law. Properly administered, such relief could well give impetus to the reconstruction process about which the Hoover Administration has lately been talking so much. The relief could take several forms. It might be an unconditional distribution of money to the hungry—an alternative the country may have to face sooner than it now supposes. Or it might take the form of housing or other government construction programs that would provide work for the unemployed and would be financed through the public sale of bonds.

Whether it is a cause or an effect of our present difficulties, the major factor in the depression is the sharply curtailed purchasing power of the great bulk of the people. Goods are not being sold, because they cannot be bought, because there are many million Americans who have not sufficient money to purchase even the bare necessities of life. At the same time there is more than enough unused purchasing power in this country to finance any of the public-building programs now before Congress. It is possible that a huge bond issue at this time might strain the credit position of the government, but if care were taken in marketing the bonds we believe this would not happen. Senator La Follette has proposed that they be sold directly to the public with the help of campaigns similar to the Liberty Loan drives. Bond issues planned in connection with the Reconstruction Corporation and similar measures are not designed to transfer our latent purchasing power to the people who could use it to the best advantage for the country as a whole. The proceeds from the sale of such bonds are to be used almost exclusively to bolster up temporarily embarrassed banks and corporations. But the proceeds from the sale of public-building bonds would be largely translated into direct purchasing power. Much of it would go to buy building materials, while even more of it would reach the reemployed workers in the form of wages, and this would help them to buy food, clothing, and other necessities they now lack. It can hardly be denied that employment in many industries beyond those immediately affected would thereby be greatly stimulated.

Many objections have been raised to this plan, probably the most serious of which is the widely heard complaint that for the federal government to finance a public-building program would be to break down local enterprise and initiative. Thus a special committee of the President's Organization or Unemployment Relief contends that "the assumption by the federal government of such obligations would inevitably lead to ever-increasing appropriations, and furthermore would necessarily weaken the sense of responsibility of the municipalities and States to provide for their local needs and welfare, and would postpone, if not prevent, the adoption by the localities of wise, local, long-time construction plans." This was obviously intended as a direct criticism of Senator La Follette's bill, under which the sum of $3,750,000,000 would be made available for loans to State and local authorities. The committee further suggests that "if some localities are unable to carry their burden" in this respect, "then the States will do their share." The members of the committee know only too well that most municipalities, because of statutory debt limitations and for other reasons, are unable today to carry any kind of additional burden. A dispatch from Boston the other day reported that five Massachusetts cities are no longer in a position to meet their ordinary pay rolls, let alone contemplate the expenditure of extra money for public works or unemployment relief. Numerous other municipalities are finding themselves in similar plight. Chicago's case is too well known to need discussion here. New York City is rapidly approaching a municipal financial crisis. Philadelphia cannot pay its employees regularly but must borrow money for the purpose. Detroit has had to lay off several hundred of its civil servants. But Mr. Hoover's committee promises that the States "will do their share." How many States have begun work on construction programs extensive enough to provide employment for a majority of their jobless residents? Not one that we know of. In fact, we find the same people who are blocking this plan in Congress obstructing like measures in their State legislatures. The conservatives in the Wisconsin senate have thus far defeated every relief bill introduced by the progressives on the ground that State action would undermine local responsibility. Thus the Hoover Administration through its committee is really advocating a policy of inaction and despair.

We can think of more pertinent objections to the various public-building programs. Too much emphasis is placed on highways and government buildings, and not enough on housing. Our overcrowded, insanitary slum districts furnish us with one of the most important social problems of the present age. A few billions of dollars spent on housing would be much more profitable to society as a whole than would all the additional highways, beautiful post offices, and ornamental bridges envisaged in the several bills under consideration. But such objections as these must not be allowed to obscure the principal objective. Public construction will provide work for many of our unemployed. It will to considerable extent increase purchasing power. It will save many of our fellow-citizens from continued distress and hunger. We must either choose that course—or leave it to chance and the doubtful economic experiments of the Hoover Administration to prevent further suffering among the ten million or more Americans who are now without work.

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The Future of Birth Control

WE have gone out of our way to devote a considerable portion of this unusually large issue of *The Nation* to the subject of birth control because of the overshadowing importance of the question at this grave juncture of the world's economic history. With millions upon millions out of work, on the verge of starvation or actually starving, the question of population becomes of transcendent importance—so much so that H. G. Wells on his recent visit to New York declared that if things continue as they are some 400,000,000 people must needs perish in order to restore the old equilibrium. Fantastic that utterance sounds; exaggerated it indubitably is. Still, the present emergency is too grave and the threat of a long-drawn-out world convalescence too likely, not to call peoples' attention sharply to a reconsideration of the old theory that the larger the nation the better for all its people.

But if there were no economic crisis whatever, we should none the less again be lifting our voice to demand that no limits of any kind be set to the dissemination of facts about birth control and to urge its practice. This is in its essence a question of individual freedom and liberty. Unlike the question of drink or drugs, it connotes, our Catholic friends to the contrary notwithstanding, no injury to public morals or well-being; on the contrary there is no single thing we know of that could bring greater health and happiness and a sounder morality to the masses of the working people, or bring them as quickly. We are especially aiming this issue of *The Nation* at Congress and men in public life, because of the direct efforts now being made to induce Congress and the State legislatures to expunge from the statute books the legislation which makes it criminal to disseminate birth-control information through the mails and to distribute contraceptives. We are in favor of complete repeal of all such laws. In taking this stand we are merely asking that the country revert to its historic position during the first hundred years of its existence, when there were no restrictions whatever, as is pointed out by Morris L. Ernst in his article printed elsewhere in this issue. We are aware, of course, that in asking complete repeal we are asking what is impossible today. So we are quite ready to accept any legislation and to welcome any court decision which will break down any part of the now existing laws. The courts have done excellent work so far and will doubtless continue to do so. But we wish that anti-social legislation entirely repealed before it becomes a dead letter, before it too is nullified by non-enforcement and joins the mass of matter which would be wiped off the statute books if we should ever have a complete elimination of the unenforced and unenforceable laws.

Meanwhile we have this constructive suggestion to make: We urge a Congressional committee on birth control for a complete inquiry into the whole subject by an authoritative body. We would not limit it merely to the question of whether legislation is desirable or not. We would not limit it merely to the pros and cons of a particular bill or bills. We would have it go into such subjects as the extent of the present dissemination of birth-control knowledge and of the existing nullification of the law, whereby, like so many other statutes, it has become a weapon to be used only when, because of pressure from some bigoted or clerical source, the police decide suddenly to move against a particular person or set of persons. Such a committee could discover that in the case of the Lee Rubber Company in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals the evidence indicated that one particular contraceptive circulated in the mails to the extent of 20,000,000 in a single year. Such a committee might even interest itself in the development of the technique of birth control.

That birth-control advocates are in for a long fight no one can doubt. The ignorance, the cowardice, the prejudices with which they have to contend are sufficient to daunt any hearts less brave than those of Mrs. Sanger, or Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, or the other pioneers and leaders in this great movement to end unnecessary and unwilling motherhood, to put marriage and the marriage relation where they rightfully belong. In America the chief enemy is, of course, the Catholic church. That that opposition will in time be overcome we do not question; there are too many Catholics themselves profiting by the knowledge of birth control, especially among the rich members of the church, to leave any doubt as to that. The question becomes merely one of obeying the dictates of sound sense, sound morals, and economic wisdom. Today most of our politicians, even those that come from overwhelmingly Protestant districts, are too much afraid to speak out, or to advocate the position some know to be correct. Especially is this true of Congress. But greater odds were faced by Abolitionists and the woman suffragists, who yet lived to see their causes triumph in far shorter time than anyone dreamed to be possible. So will it be with birth control.

Economic Isolation

MR. HOOVER has dropped those messy European problems, according to the Washington correspondents, and "will devote his entire time to the domestic problems of the United States." His position, we learn further and more emphatically, is that "the 'home job' has assumed such proportions as to merit virtually his undivided attention." This is not only the position of Mr. Hoover; it also appears to be the position, we regret to add, of the great majority in Congress, as well as of a substantial and apparently increasing number of newspaper editorial writers. It is a very comforting doctrine, but hardly one that will stand close scrutiny. Does Mr. Hoover himself believe it? That depends, apparently, on the political needs of the moment. Mr. Hoover does not wish to admit that the present or the past Republican Administration has the slightest responsibility for the present crisis; therefore he has been insisting with increasing frequency that the depression is "world-wide" and entirely the result of the deplorable policies of Europe. Now he solemnly assures us that all the cures for this world-wide depression lie at home. This was not Mr. Hoover's opinion a few weeks ago, when he delivered his annual message to Congress. At that time, after his customary gesture in shifting all responsibility for the crisis to Europe, he was at least logical enough to add: "As our

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difficulties during the past year have plainly originated in large degree from these [foreign] sources, any effort to bring about our own recuperation has dictated the necessity of cooperation by us with other nations in reasonable effort to restore world confidence and economic stability."

The plain truth is that an international economic crisis can be the result only of factors that have an international effect. There is not the slightest doubt that one of the chief causes of the present depression is our outrageously high tariff. In seeking to shift the blame for the crisis to foreign countries, Mr. Hoover remarked that ten countries had been unable to meet their external obligations, and that fourteen had temporarily abandoned their former monetary standards. But Mr. Hoover did not stop to say that by practically refusing to receive goods from them, we had made it almost impossible for other countries to make large payments to us, and that, by compelling them to send gold in place of goods for the payments that they did make, we had finally succeeded in draining them of gold to such an extent as to force them to abandon the gold standard. Nor did it occur to Mr. Hoover to point to the obvious fact that in the long run exports must be paid for with imports, and that to the extent to which we cut off our import trade we must necessarily cut off our export trade, so that all our exporting industries, including agriculture, must languish. When Mr. Hoover now says that he is going to devote himself entirely to "domestic problems," what he really means is that he intends to ignore entirely the basic causes for the world's disease, and to fix his attention solely on the American symptoms, always with a weather eye on next November.

The Blessed Isles

THE popular conception of Hawaii as an earthly paradise has been rudely shaken during the past few weeks. When the Massie case, as a result of the charge of murder brought against Mrs. Fortescue and Lieutenant Massie, with their associates, became public property the reaction among naval officials and many lay persons in this country was sharp and instantaneous. It is exemplified clearly in the telegram to Mrs. Fortescue from her friend Mrs. Eva Stotesbury of Philadelphia: "I would have done the same thing in your place and so would any other good mother." This point of view, of course, assumes that Mrs. Fortescue is guilty of murder in the first degree. It is too soon to say whether or not a jury will so find her. But it must be clear to any person of reasoned judgment that if "any good mother" would have done "the same thing," she would have thereby turned herself into a mother whose "goodness" was very much open to question.

Let us say again what we have said on many other occasions: Rape is the worst of crimes; the victim is entitled to every sympathy, to protection and consideration of every possible sort; and the offenders, when their identity is established, should be subjected to the full punishment of the law. But lynch law in Hawaii is no more to be condoned than lynch law in Mississippi. With this attitude clearly in mind, we may proceed to some of the later reports from Honolulu. On the evidence of the Governor of the Territory, former Governor Wallace R. Farrington, and Victor S. K. Houston, Hawaiian delegate to Congress, the charge that Honolulu is a hotbed of lawlessness, general disorder, and racial antagonism is altogether false. Governor Lawrence Judd also takes occasion to controvert some of the statements of Admiral Stirling's report relative to the rape trial, and adds that, although he finds himself in disagreement with the commandant, "I have not made a single statement which I cannot prove by documentary or other competent evidence." His most important correction is in the matter of counsel for the defense of the men Mrs. Massie accused. Admiral Stirling indicated that large sums from unknown persons had subsidized eminent counsel to undertake the defense; Governor Judd declares that "Senator Heen and Mr. Pittman both have made written statements that their fees were comparatively small and were paid entirely by relatives of the defendants." Representative Houston, in giving to the newspapers copies of Judge A. E. Steadman's charge to the jury in the Massie trial, repeated the fact, evidently not well known in this country, that the law of Hawaii forbids a jury to convict in a case of rape solely on the identification of the victim. Corroborative evidence is necessary. It becomes evident, therefore, that the trial was conducted with considerably more reason and restraint than appeared to be the case from Admiral Stirling's account of it. It may further be added that many persons in Honolulu believe the men accused of the attack to be not guilty. According to Mr. Farrington: "The attorneys for the defense . . . established an alibi that caused even trained reporters who had followed the case in its every detail to doubt whether the police had the right men."

The House Committee on Naval Affairs, the Senate, the Department of Justice are all to conduct or have conducted commissions of inquiry. The Legislature of the Territory is to consider reform of the police administration in Honolulu. But before any of these investigatory or reform bodies meets, every battleship, naval officer, seaman, and soldier should be recalled from the territory. We exercise a civilian authority over the islands. There is no reason why that authority should not be competent to reform where reform is needed, and in the case of the four persons accused of murder, or the four other persons accused of rape, to see that justice is speedily and satisfactorily done.

Pictures for Sale

DR. JOHNSON, so the schoolbooks inform us, freed the writer from his patron. Thanks to the growth of a reading public, it became possible for the author to support himself by his own labors and to receive an honest pay for an honest day's work. He had a market in a sense that he had never had one before, and there is no doubt of the fact that the change was a change for the better. But it is not always remembered that the painter or the sculptor has never achieved any similar readjustment to modern society. Like a writer before the invention of printing, he has only a unique example of each work to sell and, except in the case of the strictly commercial artist, no real outlet for his work. Unless his pictures can be sold for very high prices, they cannot be sold at all; he is as dependent upon the patronage of the rich as any medieval poet ever was; and

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there is no possible way in which the machinery of modern society can come to his rescue as it came to the rescue of the writer when literature became—as it did—the first commodity to enjoy the advantages of mass production.

Most painters have no desire to paint tomato cans or Arrow collars, but most of them would welcome a public. What they really need is an enlightened attitude on the part of cultivated people and a realization of the fact that a picture which can be bought for no more than would be put into a new armchair for the drawing-room may nevertheless be a picture worth having. Dozens of talented artists who do not happen to be famous would be glad to sell their canvases for no more than that, and hundreds of people would no doubt be glad to buy them if it were not for the fact that it is so unconventional a thing to do. Paintings are for millionaires and museums; prints for the walls of ordinary people. And yet there is nothing which would do more to give security, self-respect, and a livelihood to the rank and file of aspiring artists than a market for that work which is, under present conditions, worth nothing at all unless it is worth so much that the average man could not buy it.

Apparently a realization of something of this sort lies behind the manifesto just issued by the Painters' and Sculptors' Guild, which has its headquarters at the New School for Social Research and which will hold the first of its projected shows in the school building. None of the members of the guild has "arrived," and the group stands for no particular "movement" in painting or sculpture, but the manifesto reveals an honest, unpretentious desire to do something to make the position of the talented but unrecognized artist possible. What he needs most is not "success," as that is commonly understood, but the ability to continue his work, and the guild hopes to make that possible by offering canvases to the public at a price just sufficient to pay for the materials and the maintenance of the artist. It will solicit no contributions and ask no charity but it will exhibit pictures and statues which can be bought at reasonable prices by persons who like them and want to have them in their homes for no reason beyond the fact that they find them pleasing.

It will not be easy to change a psychological attitude as deeply rooted as that of the average man toward the work of an unknown painter. Schemes not dissimilar to this have been proposed before without, unfortunately, having got very far. But we wish all success to the new guild nevertheless, and we cannot see how the position of the painter can ever be improved unless something of the sort should some day create a real market for works of art. The aspirant to no other profession ordinarily finds himself brought face to face with a blank wall so quickly as does the painter who has no private means and who discovers almost immediately that he must attain notoriety or starve. Neither public museums nor public tributes to the value of art are of any value to him for the simple reason that, at best, they do no more than increase the interest in artists who have already attracted the eye of the small group which makes reputations. But the possibility of selling work to individual members of a large public would bring hope to those whose future now seems hopeless. Nor is this by any means all. The public itself would benefit, and might very well learn more about the meaning of the plastic arts by the simple process of choosing from among unfamiliar pictures than it has ever learned by looking earnestly at those whose merits have already been certified.

Youth Votes for Peace

HOW stands the legend of undergraduate indifference to current issues, in the light of the vote taken by the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council in seventy colleges on questions regarding war and peace? A high percentage of the students cast ballots—84 per cent of the entire student body at Amherst, 78 per cent at Yale, and 70 per cent at Mt. Holyoke. That the returns are representative is indicated by the participation of large and small institutions, of various types, in widely separated sections of the country. Among the colleges were, for example, Dartmouth, Wellesley, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Rollins, Kansas, and Southern Methodist.

In the long vista of warrantable gloom, this is indeed a cause of cheer. For not only have 92 per cent of the 24,345 students voting declared, in general terms, for reduction of armament; no fewer than 63 per cent have urged independent disarmament by the United States without waiting for other countries. On this issue, at least, when an opportunity is offered for the expression of opinion, our college students are not only thinking, but thinking boldly. One out of every seven who replied even went so far as to propose 100 per cent independent disarmament. And if skeptics incline to view these results as due to sentimental idealism, growing out of remoteness from contact with public affairs, let them ponder the vote on military training—a matter of intimate concern in many colleges where it is compulsory, and a question of moment for every young man who faces the possibility that training for war may prove to be an actual rehearsal of what is to come. Here, again, the balloting is consistently anti-war, 81 per cent opposing compulsory drill and 38 per cent—in our judgment, a remarkably high proportion—desiring the abolition of military training altogether in all colleges.

What effect this veritable cry for peace will have on the faculties of our colleges and universities remains to be seen. Official boards, trustees, and presidents, though usually in favor of peace, often have a way of disregarding the wishes of their students when these depart from tradition or run counter to the ambition of vested military interests to use youth for their own purposes. But we are hopeful that this poll may stimulate teachers, especially, to keep on courageously with their task of freeing their institutions from the clutches of war ideology.

While student interest is still keen, however, there are certain further queries we should like to pose. Is disarmament enough? Are the undergraduates who have clearly registered their unwillingness to follow the drums along the avenue of preparedness for war equally ready to enlist, definitely and unequivocally, in the world-wide campaign of war resisters already organized among the young men and women of twenty-two countries? Will they soon be counted among the active workers in the War Resisters' League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, or similar expanding agencies eager to enrol young persons in the crusade to drive war off our planet? Are they sharing in the struggle to create a social order which will make peace possible? In the long run the answers to such questions will determine the effectiveness of these awakened undergraduates.

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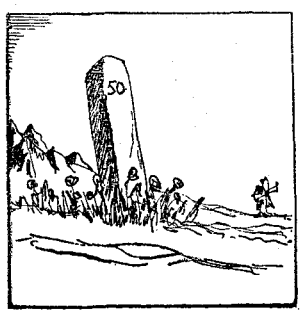
Speaking of Revolution . . .

By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON



"*DIES irae, dies illa*"—well, the *saeclum* does not exactly *solvet* into the *favilla,* but I am fifty years old today and you will have to pardon me if I do a little semi-centennial reminiscing.

By and large I am glad that the greater part of life is behind me. No, it has not been a bad life, as lives go, nor has it been wholly unsatisfactory. The first twenty years were pretty terrible but that was just one of those things—well, the less said, the better. After all, parents are merely an incident and very often they are just an accident, so why blame anybody?

During the next thirty years the fool things I did were entirely of my own making. I shall probably never be very bright about certain things and I doubt whether I shall ever quite cease doing a vast number of exceedingly foolish things, but I have ceased to worry about them. What seems much more important to me is to find a reasonable *modus vivendi* which will allow me to get along without too much friction in this new world which has sprung up since the end of the Great War.

For, speaking *Slavice,* I was born in St. Petersburg, I spent the most interesting part of my days in Petrograd, and I shall end my days in Leningrad. From St. Petersburg to Leningrad is more of a jump than from the Rome of Caesar to the Washington of Roosevelt. I have been obliged to make that jump. But I am like one of those beginners on skis we see nowadays in the newsreel. I have navigated fifty or sixty feet of open space nicely enough. I have actually landed on my feet without breaking my neck. But I am wobbly in the knees. I am having a very hard time trying to find my balance. I am swaying from left to right and from right to left. I may make it. I may not make it. I have a couple of husky kids, much more experienced at this modern sport than I am. They are doing their best to help their pa get safely across the line. But Lord help us, what a jump! what a jump!

There is one thing, however, that fills my heart with sorrow on this particular day. Until a few years ago I myself belonged to the younger generation. Almost overnight I was graduated into the class of the "older generation." And now there is hardly anybody left who will feel that he has a natural right to tell me where I get off, to speak harsh words of disapproval, and to inform me in unmistakable terms just exactly what sort of idiot I happen to be. From now on it is "Yes, sir" and "No, sir." But the old familiar "You hopeless, unmitigated, double-barreled grandson of a mule"—that, alas, belongs to the past. I am not a man without a country. I am something much worse. I am a respectable citizen of great dignity whom nobody any longer can patronize merely on account of his extreme youth and lack of experience. My contemporaries, of course, will continue to call me names. But that is different. They will do so by choice and not by right of eminent avuncular domain.

A few years ago I made a great discovery. I still had (I still have, bless him!) an uncle of the old school. I had lost sight of him during my many years of voluntary exile. When I left my native land he was in the prime of his middle-aged glory. After a few years in the East Indies, where he had taught the natives of Sumatra how to turn useless primeval forests into profitable tobacco fields (profitable for the Dutch investors but profitable also for the natives, who often received as much as forty cents a week for their labors), he had been appointed managing director of one of the largest agricultural establishments in Zeeland. He knew his business. In less than five years he had made it one of the show places of the country. Whoever raised a hog or grew an ear of corn in the Old World hoped to have an opportunity some day of going to Holland to see how they did those things in uncle's domain, and when I say domain, I mean domain, for the old gentleman had a philosophy of life which was simple in the extreme.

"Listen, little boy," he used to say, for glory be to Allah, although he had to look way up in the air in order to see the effect of his words, I was still to him a very small boy in a sailor's suit, with a sailor's cap bearing the legend "Royal Navy," and with very, very little sense. "These men here who work for me are nice fellows but all this modern stuff about labor unions is poppycock. They want decent wages and they want to feel that no matter what happens they are safe. I pay them decent wages and no one has ever been fired here except for gross incompetence. But I run this show. I run it because I can run it better than they can ever hope to run it. I know it. They know it. So all of us are perfectly happy as we are. Now let us go and see the cows and don't talk to me again about labor unions, my child."

We went to see the cows. Uncle was trying out a new experiment. Forty cows shared a pasture with twenty sheep and ten horses. Uncle explained the ratio to the little boy and the little boy listened. Then the little boy asked a question.

"Uncle," he said, "suppose you increased the number to fifty cows, thirty sheep, and twenty horses. What would happen then?"

"Then, my child, they would all of them get a great deal less to eat, but they would survive, I suppose."

"Well, suppose you increased the number to a hundred cows, fifty sheep, and thirty horses. What would happen then?"

Said the uncle sternly: "You hopeless idiot, even if you are a little boy, remember that you are my nephew and don't ask damfool questions! Then they would all starve to death!" Q. E. D.

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American Loans to Latin America

THE story of recent American financial imperialism is being told by numerous witnesses who have been appearing before a Senate committee in Washington. How this imperialism works may be seen from the following summary of some of the more important loans made to Latin American governments in the last few years. Almost without exception the loan in each case has been followed by the granting of concessions or monopolies to American corporations. The State Department, it may be noted, is on record as being opposed to loans to foreign countries that are intended to create or finance monopolies, or to finance the purchase of munitions.

Bolivia

In 1924 the Equitable Trust Company, a Rockefeller-controlled institution, floated Bolivian bonds to the extent of $29,000,000 on the American market. The loan is now in default.

A few weeks later the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, also controlled by Rockefeller, secured a concession for 1,000,000 hectares of petroleum lands in Bolivia.

In 1928 Dillon, Read, and Company floated a $22,000,000 bond issue in the United States. The bonds are now in default.

Out of this amount, $5,060,000 went to Vickers, Ltd., as payment for arms and ammunition, while $1,500,000 went for the building of military roads near the Paraguayan border.

Brazil

In 1929 the National City Company sold to the American investing public $8,500,000 of bonds for the state of Minas Geraes, Brazil.

In the same year the American and Foreign Power Company, subsidiary of the Electric Bond and Share Company, acquired the electric power, light, and street-railway properties serving Bello Horizonte, capital of Minas Geraes.

Colombia

In 1931 the Tropical Oil Company and the Andean Pipe Line Company, both controlled by Standard Oil of New Jersey, advanced $1,000,000 each to the Colombian government. During the same year a suit against them in the Supreme Court of Colombia was dropped.

In 1930 the National City Bank arranged a $20,000,000 credit with the President-elect of Colombia. The American Minister to Colombia, Jefferson Caffrey, participated in the deal. Colombia in return was to pass certain legislation required by the bankers.

A year later—June, 1931—the National City Bank withheld the last $4,000,000 instalment of the $20,000,000 credit until after the Barco concession, a rich oil field, owned by the Mellon Gulf interests, was approved by the Colombian Congress. During this period of delay President Olaya sent telegrams to the State Department reminding it that he was fulfilling his part of the deal by settling the Barco concession.

Cuba

Gerardo Machado, prior to assuming the presidency, represented the Electric Bond and Share Securities Company as its agent in negotiating concessions in Cuba.

After President Machado's inauguration he caused to be introduced in the Cuban Congress a bill giving the Havana Electric Light and Railways a lease, in perpetuity, on the Havana power system and its street railways. Another bill sponsored by him remitted about $1,000,000 in taxes to the company.

The Chase National Bank, operating through the son-in-law of President Machado, floated a $100,000,000 loan for Cuba in 1929.

A large part of the proceeds of the loan was paid to Warren Brothers for the construction of the Cuban National Highway.

Chile

The National City Company in 1929 sold a bond issue of $32,000,000 to the American public for the Lautaro Nitrate Company, Ltd.

In 1929 Guggenheim Brothers secured control of the Lautaro Company.

In 1929 the American and Foreign Power Company negotiated what amounted to a monopoly power concession for a large number of Chilean municipalities. When the contract came before President Ibañez for approval, he denounced it publicly as unfair and discriminatory, and canceled the contract.

Julius G. Lay, counselor of the American Embassy, then conferred with the representatives of the National City Bank regarding the restriction of Chilean credit, and subsequently both Lay and Ambassador Culbertson suggested to the Chilean government that cancelation of the contract would cut off Chilean loans. The contract was then approved.

Peru

Seligman and Company, together with the National City Company, floated a $15,000,000 bond issue for Peru in 1927, secured by the Peruvian tobacco monopoly.

The American Tobacco Company got a contract to operate the monopoly.

In 1928 Seligman and Company, together with the National City Company, floated an $85,000,000 loan to Peru. According to testimony before the Senate committee, a son of President Leguia was paid a "commission" of $415,000 in connection with this transaction.

The Foundation Company of New York got contracts for certain street-paving and other public works.

Seligman and Company floated a $1,500,000 loan for the city of Callao, Peru, in 1928.

Frederick Snare and Company received a contract for the construction of new port works at Callao. By supplemental contract Snare and Company undertook the management of the government's port works at Callao in the capacity of agents for the Peruvian government.

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An Emergency Currency

By HENRY HAZLITT

IN a theater fire more people are liable to be killed in the stampede than by the flames. In a financial panic much more damage is done by senseless hysteria than by the inherent weakness of conditions. The suggestion in the present article is put forward as a possible way of dealing with the situation if a sudden irrational lack of confidence in our banks should develop. It must be admitted at the very beginning that the problem is far from a simple one. Most casually suggested plans for protecting the banks against panicky depositors would inevitably bring about the very collapse of credit that their proponents imagine they would forestall. One may take as an example the proposal sometimes put forward in private conversation that if conditions grow worse it may be necessary to declare a "banking moratorium." Passing over the question of how pay rolls would be met and groceries bought during the period of such a moratorium, or of what would immediately happen to trade and values, one has merely to ask what would be the result on the day the moratorium terminated. Nearly every depositor would be in line at every bank to draw his money out.

The plan here suggested is the exact opposite of this. It rests on the assumption that the need in a time of crisis is not to prevent frightened depositors from drawing out their money, but to allow them to convert their deposits immediately into cash to any extent they wish. With this need in mind the present writer proposes the creation of an emergency currency, or at least the setting up now of machinery that would make possible the instant issue of emergency currency if that currency should be demanded. Emergency currencies are, of course, not unknown in times of crisis. In the panic of 1893, when a number of banks adopted the extreme measure of refusing to pay cash for the checks of their own depositors, and when it seemed possible that trade might be forced to a basis of barter, a number of large employers of labor made plans to issue a currency of their own, to be redeemed when the banks resumed cash payments. There were actually large issues of clearing-house loan certificates, which remained in use nineteen weeks. In the panic of 1907, $238,000,000 of such clearing-house loan certificates were issued, and remained in use for twenty-two weeks. Moreover, banks in Pittsburgh and Chicago, where manufacturers' pay rolls created the need for large sums of currency, issued an emergency currency, the amount of which was estimated at upwards of $96,000,000. Finally, the Treasury offered $50,000,000 of government bonds and $100,000,000 of one-year government notes to banks with a view to providing the basis of new circulation; $25,000,000 of the bonds and $15,000,000 of the notes were taken.

Once more an emergency currency was issued in a crisis, this time in June, 1914. Shortly after the 1907 panic the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act had been passed to make possible the quick issuance of currency in the next crisis. It provided that banks could exchange the contents of their portfolios for currency notes in an actual emergency. To make certain that the currency would not be issued or remain in circulation for longer than the period of emergency, a tax was provided on the use of the notes. The act remained apparently a dead letter until the development of the war crisis; then, in the first three months after July, 1914, $380,000,000 worth of the emergency-currency notes was put into circulation. Of the total authorized issue it is interesting to note that 57½ per cent was secured by merchants' notes, 28½ per cent by miscellaneous securities, and 14 per cent by State and municipal bonds. All this currency had been retired and canceled by the end of June, 1915.

The situation today, it is true, is in one or two respects radically different. The old bond-secured national-bank notes were an extremely inelastic currency; the present Federal Reserve notes are an extremely elastic currency. Nothing could illustrate the difference better than a comparison of the 4 per cent premium on actual currency that existed for a while in 1907, when it was estimated by Secretary Cortelyou that $296,000,000 of cash was being hoarded, with the increase of $1,000,000,000 in Federal Reserve notes in the last year to take care both of hoarded money and of part of the needs of communities which bank failures have compelled to return temporarily to a cash basis. But the creation of Federal Reserve notes is subject to two important limitations. First, these notes can be issued only against various forms of commercial paper having, in general, a maturity of not more than ninety days. Secondly, they can be issued only against the paper held by member banks of the Federal Reserve system. It is not intended here to question the soundness of these limitations; the integrity of the Federal Reserve system requires them. But it is desirable to raise the question whether, in a crisis of the gravity of the present, it would not be wise to consider the creation of a temporary currency against the assets of non-member banks and against other assets than ninety-day paper.

For this purpose it might be advisable to create a governmental emergency discount bank authorized to rediscount the paper of banks not members of the Federal Reserve system, and to issue currency against such paper; while a bank subject to a particularly heavy drain, which had already rediscounted all its available short-term paper, would be permitted to borrow a high percentage against the market value of its bond holdings and other assets, and to receive emergency currency for them.

As compared with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the emergency discount bank here proposed would have several advantages. It would, of course, deal solely with banks, but its operations would be extremely flexible. It could issue very little currency if very little were called for, and a great deal if a great deal were called for. What is much more important, it would not be necessary for the emergency discount bank to float huge bond issues, as the Finance Corporation is obliged to, at a time when even United States bonds are at a heavy discount. The corporation is authorized to sell up to $2,000,000,000 worth of bonds. But it was not an easy matter to sell a $2,000,000,000 bond issue even with the fervor and pressure of war times; to sell such

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an issue in one of the greatest crises in a century, and to follow this with other huge government bond issues necessary to balance the budget, to say nothing of possible issues for relief or construction, presents a very formidable program. The effect on public confidence would be a serious one if any of these bond issues were not completely subscribed for. As heavy government bond issues will be unavoidable in any case, the chief problem is to reduce their volume as much as possible. One way to do this is to issue currency and not bonds against the assets of banks seeking help. This method has the further advantage of saving heavy interest charges. Instead of paying out interest on bonds, the discount bank would be receiving interest on the amount of the loans to banks which the currency represented. This interest would be used partly to pay the administration expenses of the bank and partly to absorb possible losses on bad loans; anything above this would be government revenue.

The emergency discount bank would, of course, discount at "penalty" rates—that is to say, the banks would be called upon to pay slightly higher rates for currency loans than they were receiving for the paper or bonds they were discounting—and these penalty rates would assure a retirement of the currency when the need for it had passed. While the new notes need not be directly redeemable in gold, any more than the still-outstanding national-bank notes or United States notes (the "greenbacks") are directly redeemable in gold, they should be kept at a parity with all other forms of currency. They would, of course, have exactly the same physical appearance as other currency, just as a five-dollar greenback looks to the casual observer exactly like a five-dollar Federal Reserve note.

It cannot be too emphatically pointed out that what is here suggested is in no sense a proposal to create wealth by the printing-press. It is not put forward in the crude belief that the depression is the result of any general "money" shortage, or that the new currency would raise prices directly. In brief, it is not intended as an "inflationary" measure; its purpose is, rather, anti-deflationary. Its aim is not directly to increase the amount of bank credit (though it would tend to do so indirectly), but to transform "deposit currency" that might be destroyed or locked up into note currency that would circulate. Its effect, in short, would be to *substitute* unquestioned government credit for the temporarily questioned credit of individual banks. It would be a form of currency, it is true, that would lack the ideal elasticity and the unquestioned soundness of Federal Reserve note currency; but it would be far more elastic than the national-bank notes, and incomparably sounder than the existing greenbacks. The emergency notes would be retired as the banks paid up their borrowings, or as the slower assets were liquidated. The penalty interest rates would eventually compel this paying up and this liquidation. The life of the emergency discount bank and of the notes could, as an additional safeguard, be limited by law to a period of not more than five years, when note issuing could again be left entirely to the Federal Reserve banks. I think it in the highest degree inadvisable that the kind of rediscounting and of note issue here proposed be turned over to the Federal Reserve banks, not only because this would not serve the non-member banks (in which by far the greatest number of failures have occurred), but because the emergency nature of the measure would tend to be forgotten, and if the bars were once let down it would be next to impossible to get them up again.

This suggestion for an emergency currency is not put forward entirely without reservations. It may be that the National Credit Corporation and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, between them, may be able to take care of any situation that may occur. But if these do not prove flexible enough or adequate, then an emergency-currency plan of this type seems the only supplement or alternative. We must mobilize our banking resources to keep all solvent banks open, and to enable depositors to get as much currency as possible immediately against the actual assets of banks that prove to be insolvent. The possible deficiencies of an emergency currency of the kind here proposed would be as nothing against the consequences of a possible wholesale closing of banks and consequent prostration of trade should a particularly hysterical panic develop.

What I Believe*

By EDMUND WILSON

SO far as I can see, Karl Marx's predictions are in process of coming true. He did not foresee the Russian Revolution; he expected revolution first in some more highly industrialized country like England. But the tendencies he was able to observe in the middle of the last century have gone on just as he said they would, and are apparently producing the results which he foretold.

We have had employment made more and more uncertain by the changes in mechanical methods and by the more and more efficient management of industry, and finally more and more people thrown out of work altogether in proportion as business has become more centralized and manufacture more ingenious. We have had the progressive accumulation of wealth and power—means of production and natural resources—in the hands of a very few people, who will not turn their profits back to the public or use their power for the public good—who are such barbarians that they will not even collaborate on a plan of sensible self-government among themselves, but only pray each to the god of Business to bring back their victories again. We have the unwholesome separation of the city and the country into "two hostile camps," as Marx, quoting Urquhart, said, "of clownish boors and emasculated dwarfs," with the city dwellers cut off from the soil and the farmers caught in the toils of the bankers. We have overproduction due to capitalist greed and the lack of national or international control; and we have had periodic depressions due to the same causes, culminating in this abysmal and world-wide breakdown. We have the organization of industry into huge units too unwieldy for private enterprise to handle and ripe to be taken over by the people.

* The sixth of a series of articles on this subject by well-known men and women. Others will appear in subsequent issues.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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One phenomenon predicted by Marx we have not yet developed in America to the degree of acuteness that Marx contemplated: we have not even after two years of depression seen the general cleavage of society into a conscious bourgeoisie and a conscious proletariat—we have not yet seen a general conflict between these two classes. The aims and ideals of the bourgeoisie in America have seemed to be absorbing the working class, and this has made us inclined to scoff at the Marxist bogies. But if we consider Marx's specific predictions about America, we shall not be so sure of a bourgeois salvation. He pointed out immediately after the Civil War, when the work on the great Western railroads was scarcely begun, that "the flood of emigration from Europe" was throwing "men on the American labor market more rapidly than the current of emigration from the Eastern States to the Western could carry them onward"; and that as a result of "the handing over of an enormous proportion of the public lands to speculative companies for exploitation by means of railroads, mines, etc., the centralization of capital" was going forward "at a headlong pace. No longer is the great republic the promised land of emigrants. Capitalist production is there advancing with giant strides." The Beards in their "Rise of American Civilization" have shown how the industrial strain in the East—the labor troubles and radical movements—of the pre-Civil War period was relieved by giving free Western farms to those who were squeezed in the capitalist vise. Horace Greeley, who had become a Socialist, changed to the slogan, "Go West, young man!" But today the whole of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific is clamped in the capitalist jaws. When times are hard everybody suffers, and even the people who work the screw, unable to get any more money out of the squeezed, are in danger of going bankrupt. We should probably have come to the end of our rope seventeen years ago if the war had not opened new markets for our manufacturers and bankers. And now that capitalism in Europe has come to the end of its rope, too, we have no way of letting out ours.

The result of this tension, if it continues long, will certainly be to create even in middle-class America the social conflict which Marx foresaw. The farmers and workers will combine against the capitalists as they have periodically tended to do in the past, and they may carry a good many of the white-collarites with them. How much this conflict will have the effect of breaking down, on the part of the insurgent groups, the American middle-class psychology it is impossible now to know, and this is, indeed, the great problem of our future. Is a genuine revolution possible inside that middle-class psychology? Being myself a bourgeois American, I have tried hard since the war to believe so; but I have lately had serious doubts.

The great advantage, the great superiority, of Marx over other economists was due not to his being more learned or more expert at managing statistics, but to his psychological insight. People talk about economics as if it were a science of the behavior of money, and as if dollars and cents were entities which had an independent existence and obeyed laws of their own, like electrons. The truth is that economics is merely the study of how people behave about money, and Marx, though he possessed the true scholar's temperament and had all the statistics at his fingertips, never lost sight of this fact. His great strength lay in his imaginative grasp of human history; and the real "laws of capitalist production" of which he writes are merely the instinctive workings of human acquisitiveness, selfishness, and self-deception—the all but universal instinct to sweat, bleed, and keep down other people whom we happen to have at our mercy, and either to rationalize our predatory acts as policies adopted for the public good or to manage not to know about them at all. This is the kind of idea that one comes by, not by mathematical calculations, but by looking steadily and deeply into one's heart; and this is something that few are able to do and remain to tell the tale. But Marx, like the other great Jewish prophets, was one of those who were able to do it, and it is to this that he owes his great authority. And the place to study the present crisis and its causes and probable consequences is not in the charts of the compilers of statistics but in oneself and in the people one sees.

I propose therefore to give a short account of myself. Marx showed—I suppose for the first time—how people's theories of society and economics, no matter how well reasoned or sober, have a way of turning out to be defenses of their social position and financial interests; and it is probably true that in order to be able to value people's opinions properly, you ought to know who they are, what their income is, and where they get it from. And I shall thus supply to Marxist criticism the economic facts about myself at the same time that I offer myself as a specimen of the current American bourgeoisie.

My family have, then, on both sides belonged for several generations largely to what used to be called the learned professions—my mother's family go back to the New England Mathers. My grandfathers, great-grandfathers, father and uncles were all almost without exception doctors, lawyers, college professors, or ministers. They have all been at least comfortably well off, varying from ministers in small country parishes to doctors with profitable practices—but they have none of them, by modern American standards, been particularly rich. My father's and uncles' generation were obviously alienated by their old-fashioned education from the world of the great American money-making period; they managed to do pretty well in it, but they never seemed much at home in it. And they were indifferent to money-making beyond a fairly modest standard of prosperity which provided them with travel, a good table, and private schools for their children—even when their opportunities for cashing in on the rackets and speculations abroad must have been considerable. My father, for example, was a lawyer in New Jersey and at one time Attorney General of the State; but his love of independence and his distrust of big business were so great that he stuck all his life to his miscellaneous local practice and resisted all temptations to become a corporation lawyer in a State governed by corporations. He would not even buy the stock of the corporations, and after one or two unlucky speculative experiments early in his career, used simply to invest his money in the stock of the local bank.

One of the results of this has been that I have grown up in modern prosperous America with a slightly outside point of view, due not merely to the professional tradition in the family, which had something in common with the scientific tradition, but also to the fact that my family have never really departed very far from the old American life of the countryside and the provincial cities, with its simpler habits and tastes, and have never really been broken in to the life of machinery and enormous profits.

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However, in spite of this, I have inhabited the social territory disciplined by that machinery and dazzled by those profits; I have been put through about the same sort of mill as all the other young bourgeois Americans of my generation. At boarding-school and college I used to react violently against this mill, but except by expressing heretical opinions I never tried to revolt against it. When I got out of college and began living in New York with old friends of my school and college days, I became more profoundly dissatisfied. I had hoped to get away from college when I graduated, to find myself in a more varied world where my keel would strike on basic realities and I should go ashore at last; but though I was working for the first time for pay, it seemed to me that my life in New York was college all over again. When America went to war, I enlisted—not because I cared much about the war, but because—aside from the social pressure—I wanted to get away from my old life; and I enlisted as a soldier instead of going to an officers' training camp as most of my friends from college were doing, partly at any rate because I wanted to get as far away from that old life as possible. The side of school and college that had really given me satisfaction and that reconciled me to their deficiencies had been the "culture." I was fond of culture, which I believed at that time to be the possession of the best people and one of the reasons for their superiority. As time went on, however, it began to dawn on me that the best people were content with a very thin grade of culture, that when you tried to go into the adventures of creation or the exploration of the causes of things, they didn't follow you, and that the aristocracy of the intellect and spirit—in America at any rate—existed only in the stacks of the college library. My life had seemed to me both false and dull; and though I disliked the army extremely, I got a good deal of satisfaction out of it. My relations with people, whether my fellow-sufferers, the officers over us, or the people we were thrown with, seemed to me real now in a way that my school and college relations had not. In fact, when one day in France I got sick and had to go to bed and got a chance to think about past and future, it seemed to me that I could never go back to the falseness and dulness of my pre-war life again. I swore to myself that when the war was over I would stand outside society altogether. I would do without the comforts and amenities of the conventional world, and I would devote myself to the great human interests which transcended standards of living and conventions: Literature, History, the Creation of Beauty, the Discovery of Truth.

But when the war was over, I did come back, and that is where I am today—though I have found various ways of letting in light and air, getting heat, and arranging extensive vacations. And I know that I have found out something about that world that most of the inhabitants do not know—even when they are better informed than I am. I know, from having shifted at the time of the war out of the group with whom I should have been supposed to function, that class antagonisms, conflicts, and injustices are real, that they rarely get any publicity, that the class on top virtually controls the organs of publicity, that the capacities of human nature for remaining blind to the consequences of its actions where its comfort and prestige are concerned are so tough that it cannot usually be induced even to notice what it is up to without a pretty violent jolt from below, and that there is no hope for general decency and fair play except from a society where classes are abolished. And so when I hear the Communists today rousing the working class on the basis of assumptions of Marx's which are thus confirmed by my own experience, I pay a good deal more serious attention to them than most of my bourgeois confreres do. As I talk to employers and workers today, it seems to me that they are as far apart as officers and men during a war, and that the people whose labor makes industry possible and the people who merely invest in without participating in the management of industry, are as far apart as combatants and non-combatants. Even though the owners may be benevolently disposed and devoted to good works, and even though the working people may have been cherishing the best intentions in the world of getting to be like the bourgeois, the capitalist system is such—so it seems to me now—that any efforts on the part of the owners to alleviate the increasing strain on the workers is likely to lag fatally far behind the severity of the need for them.

At the same time, even when I was in the army I was never really so far from my bourgeois connections as it sometimes seemed to me that I was. There were officers in the unit who were friends of the family of one of my old apartment mates, and he was in the unit, too; and my father toward the end of the war was able to get me transferred and promoted to the rank of sergeant. And since the war I have never been uncomfortable—though I have never by prosperity standards had very much money. I have worked mostly for highbrow magazines; my top salary was $7,500 a year, and I didn't get that very long. I have always managed, however, to live slightly beyond my income, and have been rescued by small family inheritances which have allowed me a margin for classical reading, liquor, and general irresponsibility. And as I have got used to these bourgeois luxuries, I naturally shrink from the prospect of an era where everybody will have to earn all he gets.

In spite of this fact, however, I always felt so little at home in the American prosperity era, though I made earnest efforts to enjoy it and to believe that it was beneficial to other people (not exercising enough insight to know that it was bound for the rocks), that I am not sorry to see it all go glimmering, and the well-to-do bankers, brokers, bond salesmen, stockholders, and business men, who always seemed to me to live fatuous lives and yet to call the tune that the rest of the country danced to, no longer able to be fatuous on the same scale. I feel convinced that the money-making period of American history has definitely come to an end. Capitalism has run its course, and we shall have to look for other ideals than the ones that capitalism has encouraged. I don't know where they are coming from. The owning-class Americans seem to me half-baked and half-educated people, who deserve the worst that Mencken and Sinclair Lewis say about them. Yet the emergency may produce its leaders, and these may come not out of the world of middle-class psychology at all—not out of business or professional politics or even reform politics, not out of bourgeois journalism—but out of a new type in American labor. One finds a new kind of man today in the radical labor movements—he belongs to the younger generation and he differs perhaps from any of the young American radicals we have ever had in the past. The older men who have gravitated to the left after long experience with American labor, and who have kept the

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radical movements alive through the post-war period when most people deserted them, are today being reinforced by young men who start their career as convinced and cool-headed revolutionists with a clear idea of their relation to American society and of America's relation to the world. There are not many of them, but they are important. They have no illusions about general prosperity based on the present economic system, such as sidetracked so many of the Socialists and the American Federation of Labor. It is hard to imagine them abandoning their present principles. And as a matter of fact, they are not likely to be tempted to. The longer hard times continue, the more convinced of their position they will be, and the more young men of integrity and intelligence who come to maturity in the working-class world will take the same road as they.

Such men are not democratic in the old American sense; they do not believe in the ideas of the average man any more than Mencken does—they do not believe in votes. They look to Russia, in spite of all the differences between Russian and American conditions, as a model of what a state should be—because it is as yet the only example of the communistic society they desire. They want, in fact, a working-class dictatorship. Some of them assume that we shall presently see a business dictatorship when the bottom has definitely fallen out of credit, and they count on this stimulating a radical reaction even in middle-class-thinking America. And I, though I am a bourgeois myself and still live in and depend on the bourgeois world, have certain interests in common with these proletarians. I, too, admire the Russian Communist leaders, because they are men of superior brains who have triumphed over the ignorance, the stupidity, and the shortsighted selfishness of the mass, who have imposed on them better methods and ideas than they could ever have arrived at by themselves. As a writer I have a special interest in the success of the "intellectual" kind of brains as opposed to the acquisitive kind, and my present feeling is that my satisfaction in the spectacle of the whole world fairly and sensibly run as Russia is now run, instead of by the acquisitive bankers and business men and the shabby politicians who now run the greater part of it, would more than compensate me for any losses that I might incur in the process. And I appeal to other theorists and artists to be careful how they play the game of the capitalists. It is bad for their theory and their art to try to adapt themselves to a system which is the enemy of theory and art. Their true solidarity lies with those elements who will remodel society by the power of imagination and thought—by acting on life to make something new; not with those whose work is done and whose grip has failed and who are now being carried along merely by the force of a slackening momentum to which they are unable to supply fresh force. That vision was naive that I had during the war, of science and poetry as great independent entities superior to social institutions—it was the product of having come to know them in the isolation of school and college. I did not understand then how science and art are always entangled with the institutions of the particular social world which, for its good reasons, provides them with leisure; but there was this truth in it—that art and science have been straining since the beginning of history to deal not with the individual or the class or the nation or the race but with the whole of humanity—with the comprehensive or the universal—and that the true satisfaction of their impulses comes only in proportion as they are able to do so.

These, then, are my present opinions. I have opinions about other matters, too. But I believe that the discussion of other matters must wait until the problems of the social classes, with the political and economic questions they involve, have been definitely settled.

I take no stock in the idea one sometimes hears that before we reorganize society, we ought to be sure of the "values" which we are sanctioning. In the first place, we could scarcely at worst get anything worse than our present values. In the second place, society never gets reorganized until there are a great many dispossessed people who have a powerful interest in reorganizing it; and in such a state of affairs the "values" are the primary and insistent ones of food and shelter, survival itself. Until these little matters of property which are at present poisoning all classes and occupations are finally cleared up, there can be no "values" in general morals, aesthetics, or metaphysics that amount to anything.

These views do, however, as I have stated them, involve certain deeper beliefs, certain fundamental assumptions, which are not self-evident to many people, which are incapable of being finally proved, and which I can only state without defending. I believe, then, in human evolution; I do not see how it is possible to reject the evidence that contemporary humanity, with all its faults, has developed from beings much lower, or to resist the hope that we may be destined to develop into something higher still. I believe in progress as the eighteenth-century people did, and I believe as they did that the development of machinery is part of it. I do not, however, believe in progress in the sense in which the nineteenth-century capitalists used the word, taking it over and making it mean mass production, capitalistic profits, and the triumphs of colonial trade—a conception entirely different from the visions of the earlier philosophers, who had not foreseen that the rising middle class would be able to seize upon machinery as a powerful instrument for human exploitation. It seems to me as foolish to talk about machines as if they were ogres which have arisen to devour us as to talk about the counters of credit as if they were substances which expanded or contracted in accordance with physical laws, or as if they were migratory birds which crossed the ocean at certain seasons. I believe that it is the capitalist use of machinery—its use by a class of owners for private profit—which has made it such a formidable monster. And I should be glad, as I have indicated above, to see a society where such a class was abolished. It seems to me plain from my reading of history that the tendency of society is progressively leveling. When the middle class upset the feudal landlords, and the serfs and the slaves got free, we had the modern bourgeois-governed world; now there is only one more step to go.

It seems to me necessary either to believe something of this kind or to accept the creed of one of the churches. I know that some people manage to combine the two, but for myself, I am convinced that the traditional religions, however valid or inspiring in the past, were made possible only by ignorance, and that all the Western churches are obsolescent—in power over the minds that count if not in actual numbers. I do not believe that there is a hereafter in which what happens on earth will be justified and the whole human situation given a meaning. I believe that any meaning it can have will have to be given to it here by ourselves.

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What Polish Jews Are Facing

By BORIS SMOLAR

THE hard times in Europe are serving as a pretext for an intensified drive upon the Jews by anti-Semites who seek to make political capital for themselves by discovering the "cause" of the depression. The brunt of the suffering is now borne by the Jews of Poland, who were first the victims of a country-wide onslaught which began with attacks upon Jewish students in the universities, and who are now perhaps even more seriously affected by the strong economic-boycott movement which followed upon the cessation of physical attacks. The economic stringencies of the Jewish position in Poland may be ascribed to five causes: (1) the general economic depression which the entire country is experiencing; (2) the heavy taxation, of which the Jews carry a disproportionate burden; (3) various economic-discrimination measures directed against the Jews; (4) the Sunday closing law; (5) state monopolization of industries.

Like many other countries of Europe, Poland is feeling very deeply the world economic crisis. Soviet competition has cut largely into Poland's revenue from its principal exports—timber and grain. Moreover, situated as it is between Soviet Russia and Germany, countries which it considers its natural foes, Poland maintains an army disproportionately large for its size and its limited resources. It does not depend for its security on the army alone and is compelled to maintain a strongly organized civil administration as well. Fully one-half of the government budget of 2,750,000,000 zlotys is expended on salaries alone.

In order to raise funds to cover its budget the government has developed an intricate system of direct and indirect taxation, the burden of which it has placed upon the urban populace. In this manner the Jews, who are for the most part an urban element, shoulder the largest share of the taxes. The Jewish populace, which constitutes but 10 per cent of the entire Polish population, pays notwithstanding 40 per cent of the total taxes levied in the country. The 345,000 Jewish small traders, who form 75 per cent of the small traders in the entire country, are hardest hit by the taxation system. Since the budget of the government is so constituted that 58 per cent of its income is derived from direct taxes upon commercial enterprises, 44 per cent of the direct taxes is paid by the Jewish small traders. These traders, who constitute a third of the entire Jewish population in Poland, are therefore in a critical financial position. Their capital is practically swallowed by taxes. One after the other they are going bankrupt. Their situation would not be so catastrophic if the government had aided them through the extension of credits which it has made available to non-Jewish small traders. But such is not the case. Of the 132,000,000 zlotys granted in 1930 by the Polish State Bank to various banks and credit cooperatives, the 481 Jewish small credit cooperatives received but 361,000 zlotys.

The Jewish artisans, of whom there are some 150,000, fare little better than the traders. They are doubly the victims, suffering both from excessively high taxation and at the same time from discrimination. No Jewish artisan, for example, has the right to utilize the assistance of an apprentice unless he is licensed by the government. No artisan can, however, receive his license unless he produces a diploma attesting that he has completed special Polish courses. The Jewish artisans for the most part are aged Jews. They have practiced their vocations from boyhood and were never before required to produce diplomas. Most of them have never even visited a school. They read and write no language other than Yiddish. By a decree issued December 15, 1927, these aged artisans are required to go to school to study Polish history, to learn the geography of Poland, to read and to write Polish fluently. Without this knowledge their proficiency as artisans is impugned. They are prohibited from employing apprentices and are even refused artisan licenses.

The several hundred zlotys which these poor old Jews must pay to the government for their belated and enforced education is in itself a sufficient burden in their present impoverished state. The situation is made tragic, however, by the fact that at this stage of their lives they find it virtually impossible to grasp such subjects as history, geography, or grammar. They have never known of compulsory education. Not even under the strict regime of the Czar were history, grammar, and geography indispensable qualifications for good artisanship.

These "education" qualifications which the Polish government demands from aged Jewish artisans serve directly to eliminate the Jew from the artisan field. Thus is created artificially a better field for the Polish artisan who replaces the Jewish artisan. Naturally the Polish artisan speaks Polish better than the Jew. He knows Polish history. He has a direct nationalistic interest in knowing Polish geography. Hence he is not affected by the educational requirements as is the Jew. Thus he becomes the gainer at the direct expense of the Jew. There is a very decided danger that the requirements will ultimately oust the Jew completely from the artisan field.

The trade schools constitute another serious menace to the Jewish artisan, old and young alike. To become a fully licensed artisan it is now necessary to meet the following three requirements: (1) to serve as an apprentice for three years in the shop of a recognized master under a signed contract; (2) to attend a trade school for three years in order to supplement the knowledge acquired during the period of apprenticeship; (3) to undergo a special examination. The difficulties for the younger Jewish generation are bound up with the law compelling attendance at trade schools. The Jewish apprentice is not in a position to attend these schools, partly because in many cities where Jews live such schools do not exist, and partly also because Jews are maltreated by their non-Jewish fellow-students. Under such circumstances a situation is being created whereby the number of Polish artisans is growing annually while that of Jewish artisans is decreasing. Even in specifically Jewish trades such as tailoring and shoemaking the Jewish artisan is losing ground.

Nor, indeed, are the Jewish industrialists and professionals prospering. At least 30,000 Jewish families of this latter

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group are today tremendously affected by Soviet competition. Ten thousand of them are timber merchants. Twenty thousand are grain merchants. The timber industry in Poland has always been a Jewish industry. The Jews have controlled the export of timber abroad and served also as middlemen. Today neither England nor any other land buys timber from Poland. They import their timber from Soviet Russia, since Poland is not in a position to compete with Soviet prices. Ten thousand Jewish families are therefore destined to seek other means of livelihood. The same is true also with regard to the Jewish grain dealers. It is estimated that prior to the war 100,000 Jews in Poland were engaged in buying and selling grain. They acted, too, as the middlemen between the peasant and the foreign market. Many of them were also the concessionnaires who provided grain for the Polish army.

Today there is no large Polish grain export abroad. Here again Poland is unable to compete with Soviet Russia in prices on the foreign market. The little grain which Poland exports abroad is a government monopoly. The government has established special institutions for grain export, granting them a variety of privileges which private Jewish exporters have never enjoyed. The government has also established agricultural cooperatives which replace the Jew in buying the grain from the peasant and in selling it to the government for army provisions. The 100,000 Jews who were engaged in the grain trade in Poland are now gradually disappearing from the scene as grain dealers. Like the timber dealers, they are victims of Soviet competition, but unlike the timber dealers, they are also victims of the government's efforts to monopolize industries and trade and to eliminate the private trader.

The government monopoly of industries is one of the major causes contributing to the elimination of Jews from trades and employment. A practical boycott exists against employing Jews in any of the industries monopolized by the government, such as tobacco, alcohol, and salt.

The decree to monopolize the tobacco industry was issued in 1922. Gradually all the private tobacco enterprises were bought up by the government. These tobacco factories, the largest of which were located in Warsaw, Grodno, Bialystok, and Lublin, employed 3,000 Jewish workers, some of whom had been employed for twenty and thirty years. As soon as the government took over the factories, the systematic elimination of Jews began. Today there are only 3 Jewish workers employed in the two government factories in Warsaw, which employ 1,600 non-Jews. Somewhat more than 1,000 Jewish workers were engaged in these factories before the government took possession. In the tobacco factories of Grodno, where the Jewish workers constituted 95 per cent, their number has been reduced to a negligible percentage. In October, 1926, 700 workers were dismissed from the Grodno factory, possibly for the purpose of economy. Among them were 500 Jews. The dismissal of Jewish workers carried a definitely anti-Semitic character. In Lublin 150 Jewish workers lost their jobs in the tobacco factories. A similar reduction was made in the tobacco factory in Vilna. The Jewish workers constituted 70 per cent of those fired from this factory under the pretext of economy, although the Jews working in the factory comprised not more than 30 per cent of the entire personnel.

Jewish workers in the monopolized alcohol industry suffered an identical fate. More than 100 Jewish workers were fired from the alcohol distilleries in Warsaw when the government took over the alcohol monopoly. Sixty Jewish workers were fired in Chelm. Jewish workers were also fired in large numbers from the distilleries in Lublin, Slonim, Pultusk, and Volkovisk. In one of the largest distilleries the administration categorically declared that it had received verbal instructions not to employ Jews.

The monopolized industries are not the only commercial enterprises where open discrimination is practiced against Jews. A boycott policy is pursued with regard to employing Jews on the railways, in the post offices, and in other government enterprises. A vigorous anti-Jewish policy was also implemented when the government took over the oil industry. Jewish employees in thirteen cities who had been employed by the oil firm "Mazut" for dozens of years were fired when the organization ceased to function as a private enterprise. There are only 18 Jews employed in the government offices in a total of 75,000 officials—this notwithstanding the fact that Jews form a third of the entire population in Warsaw.

This discrimination against the Jews is also noticeable in the municipal institutions. While the Jews are 33 per cent of the entire population of Warsaw, the Jews employed in the municipal institutions of this city comprise only 4 per cent.

Anti-Jewish discrimination is sharply felt in the universities, where Jewish students meet all kinds of difficulties, particularly in the medical faculties and the technical institutes. Eight thousand Jewish students who graduated from Polish high schools are now studying abroad because they could not secure admittance into the Polish universities. Two thousand of them are studying in Germany, about 4,000 in France, the others in Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, and Austria. During the last six years the number of Jewish students in the Polish universities has decreased absolutely and relatively. While the general student body in the Polish universities increased 15 per cent, from 39,000 to 45,000, the number of Jewish students during the same period decreased 10 per cent. Of the 45,000 students in the Polish universities approximately 8,600 are Jews. The number of Jews is especially small in the polytechnic and medical schools. In the Warsaw polytechnic school the Jews number less than 10 per cent. A total of 3,590 Jewish students graduated from high schools in Poland last year. Only half of them, however, were admitted to the universities. The rest were compelled to go abroad to continue their studies in foreign schools.

Because the Polish peasantry, which forms two-thirds of the population of Poland, does not enter the high schools or universities, the Jews, who are entirely a city element, would under normal conditions be entitled to a proportion of 33 per cent in the universities. Normally there should therefore be at least 15,000 Jews among the 45,000 students who now attend the various Polish universities.

The discrimination against Jewish students apparent in the medical and polytechnic schools is not evident in other faculties. The percentage of Jewish students in the medical faculties of the Polish universities is today only 19 per cent. On the other hand, the percentage of Jews in the faculties of political science and philosophy ranges from 24 to 26 per cent.

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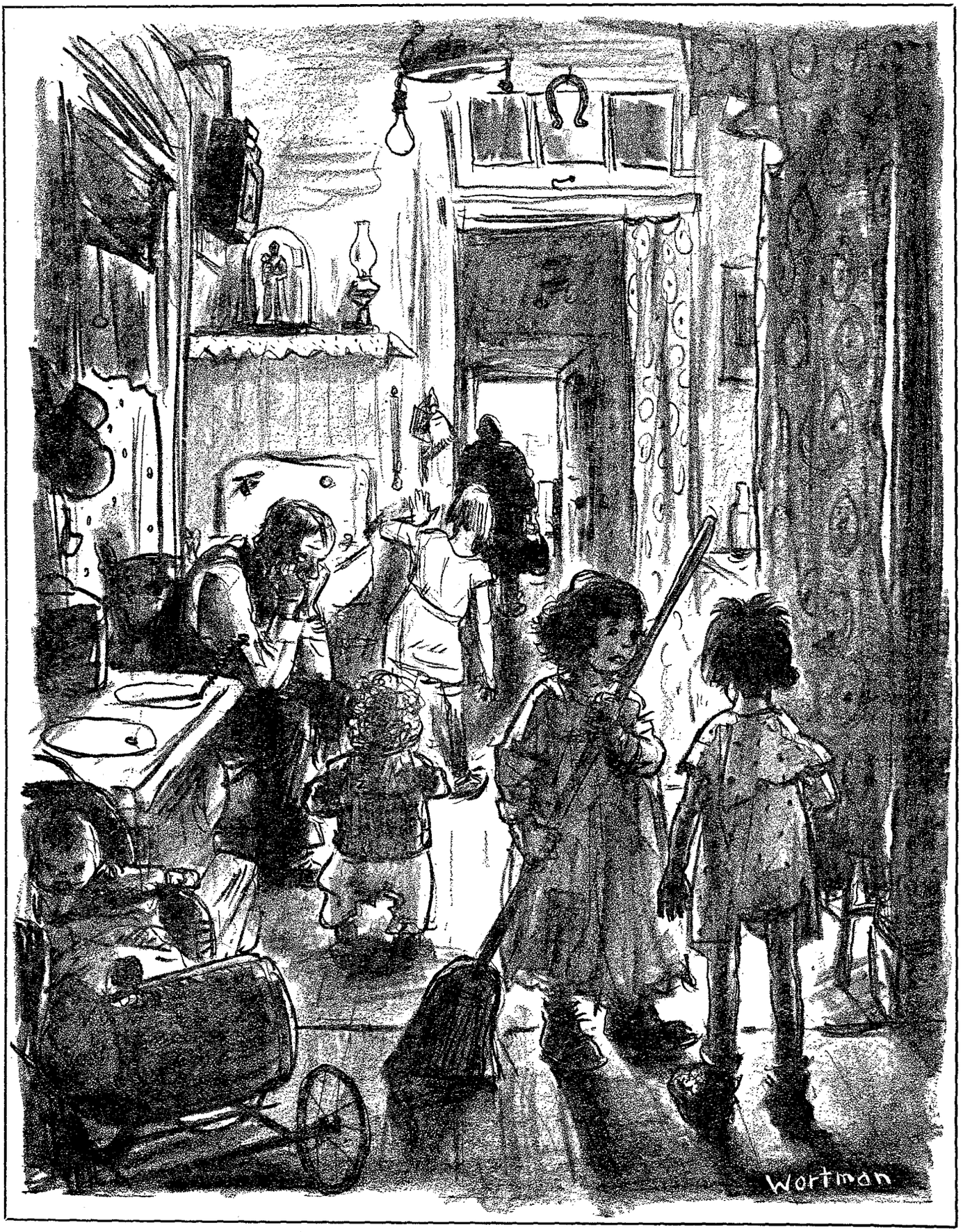

"The doctor's here again and it ud better be a boy, 'cause there's no more room in our bed."

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The Pope's Position on Birth Control

By MARGARET SANGER

ONE-THIRD of the women who come to the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York are Catholics and the remainder are about equally divided between Protestants and Jews. This has been so for several years, and it indicates that, at least in one important locality, religious affiliation makes no difference one way or the other in the practice of birth control. However, the official teaching of the Catholic church, even though ignored by many of its members, is sometimes an obstacle to general approval of the birth-control movement by political leaders unwilling to oppose the authorities of that church.

My own position is that the Catholic doctrine is illogical, not in accord with science, and definitely against social welfare and race improvement. I hope to make this clear by analyzing the statements of Pope Piux XI in his encyclical letter "Of Chaste Marriage," which was issued about a year ago.

Evidently the Pope was alarmed by the rapid advance of the birth-control movement, for he complains that an "utterly perverse" morality is "gradually gaining ground" and "has begun to spread even among the faithful." He therefore instructs the faithful how to regulate their conjugal life without the benefit of science and according to theories written by St. Augustine, also a bachelor, who died fifteen centuries ago. All through the encyclical the Pope lays stress on authority. He alludes to himself as one "whom the Father has appointed over His field," and holds that the Catholic church is the only authorized guardian and interpreter of a "divine law" applying to marriage. Some of these assertions may be questioned by theologians, but be that as it may, let us try to follow the Pope's reasoning about conjugal matters.

To begin with, he admits that sexual desire is in itself something that can at least claim respectful consideration. This appears in the following passage:

> For in matrimony . . . there are also secondary ends, such as mutual aid, the cultivating of mutual love, and the quieting of concupiscence, which husband and wife are not forbidden to consider so long as they are subordinated to the primary end and so long as the intrinsic nature of the act is preserved.

Since "the conjugal act is destined primarily by nature for the begetting of children," we understand that when husband and wife experience the sexual urge, they may act in the natural way providing the aim is to make the woman pregnant. But would the Pope permit intercourse in cases where pregnancy is impossible, as, for instance, after a woman has passed beyond the age of child-bearing? He says:

> Nor are those considered as acting against nature who in the married state use their right in the proper manner, although on account of natural reasons, either of time or of certain defects, new life cannot be brought forth.

Thus even good Catholics are not always forbidden to perform the sexual act for other purposes than procreation. It is permitted in cases of barrenness, sterility, after the woman has become pregnant, and after the menapause.

It would be interesting to know whether or not the Pope thinks that husband and wife under other circumstances than those above listed ought to limit their sexual life to a single act for each pregnancy, on the theory that the act is only for procreation. In other words, must a couple, during the child-bearing years, limit themselves to one act (assuming fruitfulness) and one child every year or two? Evidently the Pope has enough sense of humor not to tackle this phase of his moral problem. Common sense, however, tells us that here again the Catholics themselves doubtless permit a vast disproportion between the comparatively great number of "quietings of concupiscence" and the comparatively small number of resulting pregnancies. Furthermore, I believe it is a fact that the desire for a child frequently comes to men and women at moments when they feel no sexual longing, while, on the other hand, the spontaneous physical and emotional urge for intercourse is seldom accompanied by a specific desire for a child.

How many children should there be in a family? The Pope quotes the Biblical "Increase and multiply and fill the earth," together with the indorsement of the good St. Augustine, who died a thousand years before America was discovered. It strikes me that St. Augustine, however, is not a true believer in the doctrine, for I understand that he had only one son (illegitimate) and that he said, "No fruitfulness of the flesh can be compared to holy virginity." The Pope declares further:

> But Christian parents must also understand that they are destined not only to propagate and preserve the human race on earth, indeed, not only to educate any kind of worshipers of the true God, but children who are to become members of the Church of Christ, to raise up fellow-citizens of the saints and members of God's household, that the worshipers of God and our Savior may daily increase.

To repeat these two points in everyday language, the Pope commands married women to bear numerous children, (a) to fill the earth, and (b) to increase the membership in the Catholic church.

Assuming that God does want an increasing number of worshipers of the Catholic faith, does he also want an increasing number of feeble-minded, insane, criminal, and diseased worshipers? That is unavoidable if the Pope is obeyed, because, as we shall see, he forbids every single method of birth control except continence, a method which the feeble-minded, insane, and criminal will not use.

Suppose that a couple want to have children, but only a few. Suppose that they wish to space the births so that one baby can get well started in life before the other one comes. Suppose that the mother's physical condition makes it dangerous, and possibly fatal, for her to bear another child. Suppose that poverty makes limitation desirable. What can they do about it? Separate legally? No. But they can separate physically and spiritually by practicing continence.

A word about nature is needed here. Conception takes place through the combination of an ovum with a sperm.

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Sperms are microscopic seeds introduced from the man's body by the million in a single sexual act. Nature herself wastes almost all of these millions of sperms. But if a single sperm joins up with an ovum, one of the microscopic seeds which are produced by the woman's ovaries, the result is conception. From this beginning grows the embryo which in time becomes a child.

Remember that no new life begins unless there is conception. Keep the sperm away from the ovum and there will be no conception. The Pope approves the prevention of conception by keeping men and women apart, which means that he does not think it wrong for ova and sperms to grow and die by the millions without producing new life. The Pope even permits married couples to prevent sperms from meeting ova by refraining from intercourse. He calls this "virtuous continence," and he adds, "which Christian law permits in matrimony when both parties consent."

Just think of that. If the husband does not consent to continence, the wife has to keep on getting pregnant unless she disobeys the Pope by using contraceptives. Incidentally, unless I am misinformed, American wives in certain States are not entitled to support from their husbands if they refuse conjugal intimacy. There have been many decisions to this effect, I believe.

I believe that continence is one of the surest ways of breaking up marriage. It is the denial of love, the frustration of nature. Furthermore, in many cases, according to medical science, continence in marriage is positively harmful to health if practiced for any length of time. It can bring on serious nervous derangement. Although it may be acceptable to certain individuals as a method of birth control, it cannot wisely be recommended for general use.

We come now to the subject of contraception. Contraception means keeping the sperms away from the ova during and after the sexual act and thus preventing conception. Various methods of contraception have been widely used all over the civilized world for a long time, but they are all condemned by the Pope. He says in the encyclical:

> Any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offense against the law of God and of nature, and those who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of a grave sin.

In another paragraph he calls contraception a "sin against nature." He even tries to frighten Catholics by declaring that God sometimes kills people for preventing conception. Reference is made to a Biblical story. The Pope says, ". . . when the conception of the offspring is prevented. Onan, the son of Judah, did this, and the Lord killed him for it." The argument is entirely misleading. Read the story of Genesis XXXVIII, and you will see that God killed Onan because he refused to have a child by the widow of his brother, whom God had killed. If Onan had tried continence instead of another method he would have been slain just as promptly.

Before going farther I wish to quote the very Reverend W. R. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, who has written that "the real alternative to birth control is abortion." It is an alternative that I cannot too strongly condemn. Although abortion may be resorted to in order to save the life of the mother, the practice of it merely for limitation of offspring is dangerous and vicious. I bring up the subject here only because some ill-informed persons h. the notion that when we speak of birth control we include abortion as a method. We certainly do not. Abortion destroys the already fertilized ovum or the embryo; contraception, as I have carefully explained, prevents the fertilizing of the ovum by keeping the male cells away. Thus it prevents the beginning of life.

The contention that it is sin to have dominion over nature is simple nonsense. The Pope frustrates nature by getting shaved and having his hair cut, as well as by practicing continence. Whenever we catch a fish or shoot a wolf or a lamb, whenever we pull a weed or prune a fruit tree, we frustrate nature. Disease germs are perfectly natural little fellows which must be frustrated before we can get well. Nature frustrates her own processes by the most astounding wastage, as we have already seen in the case of the sperms and ova, which she produces for the man and the woman by the million only to let them perish.

When the Pope speaks about nature he seems to forget that the human mind is also part of nature. The thoughts we think and the emotions we feel are the work of nature. He does not seem to realize that the enjoyment in sexual intercourse is largely psychical. It is a mental and spiritual as well as a physical enjoyment. The stronger the love and the finer the characters of the married pair, the greater is this physical enjoyment during intercourse. To impose continence is to prevent the finest union of love, to frustrate mental and spiritual nature in its urge toward perfection. Contraception in no way interferes with that oneness which is most necessary—even though the Pope calls it a secondary end—to the preservation of married happiness.

But the Pope has no respect for the mental powers of the individual. He writes:

> Wherefore, let the faithful also be on their guard against the overrated independence of private judgment and that false autonomy of human reason. For it is quite foreign to everyone bearing the name of Christian to trust his own mental powers with such pride as to agree only with those things which he can examine from their inner nature . . . a characteristic of all true followers of Christ, lettered and unlettered, is to suffer themselves to be guided and led in all things that touch upon faith or morals of the holy Church of God, through its supreme pastor, the Roman Pontiff, who is himself guided by Jesus Christ our Lord.

That is what the Pope says. Now let us see what Jesus says. St. Matthew quotes Him thus: "Have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh?" St. Mark quotes the same statement. But did Jesus say that every wife had to bear children as fast as they would come? Did He ever advocate rearing large families as a duty toward God? Did He ever say anything against the limitation of offspring? Did He ever say anything that by any twist of argument can be interpreted to mean that He disapproved of contraception? If He did, why does not the Pope cite chapter and verse?

Having answered, point by point, those parts of the Pope's encyclical which refer to birth control, I want to add that his attitude in general seems to be conditioned by a disapproval of human enjoyment and an apparent relishing of the theory that suffering is good for our souls. He speaks

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of himself as "looking with paternal eye . . . as from a watch-tower." It is a tower set in splendor, surrounded by walls that shut out the world of broken homes, of sick and sorrow-laden mothers, poverty-stricken fathers, and pathetic, unwanted children. In that remote tower he sits comfortably, takes counsel from a pile of old books and from bachelor advisers, and then writes scolding sermons about the marriage problems of intelligent people. I wish he could come down into real life for a few weeks, walk the earth and mingle with the poor "ye have always with you." He would hear true stories from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish women which I should think would be enough to shake sense into the head of any man.

As for the Catholic political opposition to our proposed amendment of an obnoxious federal law, I contend that if the Catholic church cannot force its members to obey the Pope's commands regarding birth control without the help of the United States government, that is a good omen for our cause. The birth-control movement grows in strength and wisdom despite religious objections and legal handicaps. It advances because it supplies a human need, and it cannot stop, because that need never ceases.

No philanthropic cause today offers the benefactor a finer opportunity for service which will at the same time relieve individual suffering, promote social welfare, and tend to improve the race in America.

Congress and Birth Control

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

BLANKETED by the din and clamor of politics and legislation, one of the most interesting educational campaigns in many years is quietly and thoroughly being carried out among the members of Congress this session. Mrs. Margaret Sanger and a small group of devoted assistants have undertaken the big job of making a member-to-member educational campaign on the subject of birth control. Legislation at this session is not the object. Mrs. Sanger realizes fully that with a session almost automatically limited by the assembling of the Presidential conventions in June—the average politician is particularly timid about "moral" issues in election years—seeking a vote on a question like birth control is impossible at this time. The winter's effort, therefore, is being directed entirely to laying a broad educational base for a legislative drive at a more opportune time.

In more normal days such men as Senators La Follette and Norris, who are most sympathetic to the birth-control movement, would be free to give their time and influence to pushing a bill. Now they are overwhelmed with work connected with the economic measures they are sponsoring. Representing as they do the only progressive force in Congress, they simply have no time to give to questions other than those immediately related to the great economic crisis. This is true of all the Progressives in both branches of Congress. The whole burden of fighting the reactionary and timid policies of the leaders of both major parties devolves on them, and they are over their heads in work.

Mrs. Sanger and her associates are planning as part of their educational campaign public committee hearings on a birth-control bill later in the session. Their measure has as yet not been formally introduced, but this is now in the process of being arranged. The bill will be substantially the same as that sponsored in the last Congress by former Senator Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts, on which an exceedingly interesting hearing was held before a Senate committee. The measure would eliminate from the law restrictions which prohibit doctors from transmitting birth-control information and which forbid the distribution of birth-control devices.

Mrs. Sanger has assigned to herself the task of personally interviewing the entire membership of the Senate. Miss Alice Palache, her associate, and several volunteers are seeing House members. To assist them in this huge effort, Mrs. Sanger is organizing a local committee among interested women's groups and organizations in Washington. The experiences that Mrs. Sanger and her associates are having are extraordinarily revealing. Describing them to a friend, Mrs. Sanger remarked that after she had completed her work she expected to be fully equipped to "write a book giving the low-down on Washington, myself."

In the most unexpected quarters sympathetic knowledge of birth control is being encountered. One very wealthy and very conservative Republican Senator from an Atlantic seaboard State wound up his talk with Mrs. Sanger by giving her a lecture on the desirability of birth-control. He declined, however, to sponsor a bill. There was a too active Catholic element in his State, he frankly admitted.

Another Senator, a Southern Democrat, told Mrs. Sanger he saw no need for legislation. "All my friends know all about that," he explained. "Why bother about passing a law?" When told that the law was needed to make birth-control available to those most in need of it, the poor and the humble who could not afford to obtain it surreptitiously, he shrugged his shoulders, and refused to be impressed. For the most part, however, the members from the South dislike discussing the subject. Some seem to be quite startled to have a woman caller raise the question. They are courteous and interested, but draw back from the topic. Yet it may be noted that many have very limited families. This, in fact, is practically true of the entire membership of Congress, and often of those determinedly opposed to modifying the law.

Two conditions stand out as the chief obstacles to be overcome if birth-control legislation is to be enacted. The first is the bitter and vociferous opposition of the Catholic church. The second is the inability of all but a few members to see the social significance of birth control. The bellicose hostility of Catholicism is nothing new. At the hearing last Congress those representing that point of view converted a serious, earnest discussion of the subject into an emotional melee. One of the chief offenders on this occasion was Mrs. Mary T. Norton, Democratic Representative from New Jersey, and now, by right of seniority, chairman of the House

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Committee on the District of Columbia and thereby the unofficial "mayor" of Washington. Mrs. Norton is a political henchman of Mayor Hague of Jersey City, and holds her seat through the backing of that notorious boss. At the hearing on the Gillett bill she made a violent harangue against birth control and with great vehemence assailed its sponsors. Incidentally, she has no children. In their talks with members, Mrs. Sanger and her associates continually encounter this Catholic opposition, both directly and indirectly. It is without doubt the greatest single obstacle to be overcome.

The inability of members to grasp the deep and wide social significance of birth control, although many readily agree to its need in individual cases, is a difficulty that Mrs. Sanger is convinced can be overcome by exactly the kind of quiet educational work she and her associates are doing. In their interviews with the members they are concretely tying up birth control with the entire economic situation, stressing its immediate and direct relation to unemployment, child labor, crime, and low living standards. This economic approach is proving a powerful argument in overcoming orthodox moralist opposition, and is the basis of the educational campaign and the legislative fight.

Peculiarly enough, the wet-and-dry wrangle crosses the path of the birth-control movement. This is because most of the friends of the movement are dry Protestants, whereas the opponents are wet Catholics. It is a weird tangle, but one characteristic of politics and particularly of legislation. It frequently happens that votes of members are determined by wholly extraneous questions and factors in no way involved in the merits of the issue at stake or directly related to it. Mrs. Sanger and her associates view the outlook for federal legislation in the future as encouraging. Many members have told them that they consider birth-control legislation inevitable, although the present is not a propitious time for seeking it.

Birth Control and Social Engineering

By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

IN an ancient document, less familiar now than formerly, there occurs a graphic account of the appearance of one of the oldest problems of humanity and its characteristic solution. It has to do with two men named Abraham and Lot:

> And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. And there was a strife between the herdsmen of Abraham's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle. . . . And Abraham said unto Lot, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee. . . . Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me."

These men were the heads of two great patriarchal families. Their "substance" included their retainers and dependents, as well as their economic resources. Their problem was one which has always been inseparably connected with the multiplication of the human species.

From time immemorial human groups have increased in size until the land could no longer bear them, and such economic equipment as they might possess (as in the case above "flocks and herds") could not function adequately, and became an encumbrance rather than an asset. The natural and inevitable result has been strife. The logical and seemingly effective remedy has been to separate one part of the group from the rest and to send it off in search of new land.

This expedient offered possibilities as long as there was new land to be had. In the beginning there was a seemingly boundless supply of land. The problem was to get to it, to overcome the perils and resistance offered by the indigenous fauna and flora, and to make the physical adaptations necessary for survival in an unfamiliar environment. These requirements could be met only very slowly by primitive man. His appropriation of new land could not be carried out in any such summary way as Abraham suggested to Lot.

As a result, the spread of the human species over the habitable surface of the globe has been enormously protracted, and has sufficed to provide an outlet for a part of the surplus humanity clear down to our own day. But just because of its slowness this expedient has never been adequate to take care of any major portion of the natural increase of the species, and as a consequence strife has been ever present among those who still found themselves crowded upon areas of land unable to bear them. One phase of this strife has been the ruthless economic competition which crowds the weak into extermination. Another has been the more conspicuous, highly organized, and socially coordinated struggle that we call war. By these two forms of conflict man has perennially collaborated with nature in eliminating that excess of the species for which no subsistence could be wrung from the land.

The capacity and proclivity of living creatures to produce offspring far in excess of any possibility of survival are two of the most striking and best-established facts of biology. But high fecundity is not necessary for rapid increase, since reproduction is potentially on the basis of a geometric ratio. The simple fact is that there is no species of living organism in nature whose capacity of increase is not sufficient to overflow the earth in a very brief period if there is nothing to stop it. The invariable consequence is that every such species, relatively soon in its independent existence, reaches a point where no further increase is possible within the habitat to which it is restricted, in the face of the competition that it has to meet from other organisms sharing the same habitat. From that time on its numbers must remain virtually constant in the long run, though there may be temporary fluctuations between rather wide margins. The universal law of nature is the law of stationary population.

Man is no exception to the principle of excess fecundity. No one knows how rapidly the species might increase if its full physiological capacity were set free. But we do know that it could at least double every twenty years, for it has done so in certain cases of sufficient magnitude to afford a

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demonstration. Now at this rate it would take only about 600 years to produce the entire present population of the globe from a single pair. When we recall that instead of this brief period some million-odd years have been required to roll up this total, it is clear that human reproduction has been under some powerful restraint at all times.

The really remarkable thing, the thing that differentiates man from the other animals, is that, in spite of this restraint, the human species has hitherto been able to maintain a continuous, though irregular, increase in numbers, and to escape the extreme application of the law of stationary population. It is of the greatest importance for the present and future welfare of the race to understand by just what means this result has been accomplished.

The first great expedient has already been mentioned—the progressive appropriation and exploitation of new land. The other main recourse has been the development of an economic culture whereby the existing resources of the land have been made more completely and more rapidly available for human subsistence and enjoyment. The progress of this economic culture has been marked by certain outstanding achievements of great significance—the invention of the implements and methods of hunting, the discovery of the domestication and breeding of animals, the invention and discovery of the basic principles and methods of agriculture, the discovery of fire, the development of materials for tools and implements through stone and bronze, iron and steel, the invention of writing, and finally that extraordinary combination of inventions and discoveries which produced the industrial and commercial revolutions that ushered in the present era.

These stupendous technical advances in conjunction with the constant appropriation of new land constitute the basis upon which the multiplication of the human species has rested. It is by these that man has escaped the iron law that governs all other living organisms. It is upon further advances similar to these that he must rely for any possible increase in the future.

In estimating the probable nature and scope of these future advances, and attempting to foresee the possible further growth in numbers of mankind, there are two or three basic considerations that it is well to keep in mind. The first of these is that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of the earth was only about 700,000,000. Estimating the age of mankind as 1,000,000 years, this means that the average annual increase of the species, over the whole stretch of human existence, has been only about 700 persons. This is very close to nothing at all, and shows that man's escape from the law of stationary population, in spite of his much-vaunted human abilities and achievements, has been by a very narrow margin indeed.

The next fact, perhaps even more striking in its implications, is that within the past century and a third the species has added about 1,300,000,000 to its grand total. This is an average of 10,000,000 persons a year, or a virtual trebling in 130 years. Does it require any elaborate statistics, charts, or tables, or any awe-inspiring display of erudition, to show that the population history of the nineteenth century cannot possibly be duplicated in the next century or two? The simplest arithmetical procedure will suffice to show that the totals involved in any such duplication are simply fantastic.

To emphasize the impossibility of any such eventuality, it should be realized that the great expedient of land appropriation, which has served man in such good stead over all these ages, is no longer available. There is no more new land to be had. All the habitable portions of the globe, including many that are very slightly so, are already portioned out among the existing nations. The only way to get new land now is to take it from somebody else, and while this may be a means to national aggrandizement, it is not a device for supporting a larger world population. Indeed, this has been the only expedient open to many land-hungry nations for a long time past. Even in the days of Abraham and Lot "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land" also, and had eventually to be shoved out of the way with a ruthless hand. To be sure, the substitution of a highly civilized group of people for a primitive one, as in the case of the white settlement of America, opens the way for a considerable aggregate increase. There still remain a number of important possibilities of this sort the world over. But broadly speaking, the expedient of land appropriation as a means to population increase has come to an end in our own day. The immigration movement to the United States was its last great phase, and the sudden termination of that movement marks the end of an epoch in human experience.

As for the further development of economic culture, no one would wish to hazard an estimate as to its maximum potentialities. Men are going to continue indefinitely to invent and discover new ways of reducing the materials of the earth's crust into forms adapted to quick and satisfactory human consumption. But he would be an optimist indeed, not only in the present period of depression and distress but even in the most glittering blaze of material prosperity, who would predict that further technical advances will be able to provide indefinitely for such a rate of increase as characterized the nineteenth century, not to speak of the potential inherent capacities of the human animal as such.

No, there is every reason to believe that population must be restrained in the future as it has been in the past, and much more drastically than in the past four or five generations. The only practical question is as to the means whereby the restraint is to be exerted. The only real choice is between natural and unnatural—or human—methods. It has already been suggested what nature's characteristic mode of procedure in this field is. Nature's method is to allow the innate reproductive capacity of each species to express itself fully in offspring, and then to dispose of the surplus individuals by various means of slaughter. Whether the total number of births during the lifetime of a pair of organisms be 10,000,000 or 100,000,000, only two on the average can survive to maturity and become parents in their turn. In other words, nature controls population solely by death.

It has remained for man alone to discover means of controlling population through births. As already pointed out, man has not been able to free himself from the necessity of controlling population, nor is it likely that he ever will. But the development of the science of physics, chemistry, and particularly biology has put into his hands increasingly effective and unobjectionable means of substituting a relatively mild and genial form of control for the harsh and devastating methods of nature. This achievement has been hailed by some scientists as standing on a par with such epochal discoveries and inventions as the use and making of fire and the art of writing. Its potentialities for promoting human welfare are measureless.

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This accomplishment has not all taken place at a single step. Probably the first steps in this direction took the form of a modified type of death—the destruction of the undeveloped foetus after conception and before birth. When performed by scientific and effective methods, abortion is doubtless a great improvement over nature's method of killing the new-born. But the intelligent, informed, and humane mind of modern civilized man cannot be content with this halfway measure. Abortion is, after all and at best, killing. Only through the measures commonly called birth control or, in a narrower sense, contraception can the control of population be reduced to that minimum of suffering, inconvenience, and self-denial that seems unavoidable on this earth.

The most significant aspect, therefore, of birth control is as an indispensable instrument in the hands of modern, socially conscious man, to be used in the subjection of population growth to the same deliberate, rational, and farseeing manipulation that he prides himself on applying to every other great human interest. This is something quite apart from its utility in solving the problems of personal and family life. It is a phase of that broad, intelligent, scientific self-direction of human groups which can rightly be designated social engineering.

All the emphasis hitherto has been laid upon the control of population in its quantitative, or, to use a recently introduced term, its *larithmic* aspects. There is also a fertile field for social engineering in the qualitative, or *eugenic,* aspects of population. Here, too, birth control in its broadest sense is an indispensable instrumentality. It is a promising sign that these two phases are coming to be more and more clearly delineated, and yet harmoniously combined, in the great inclusive interest of population.

Finally it should be observed that control of population need not always be restraint. It may be promotion. If the situation ever arises when the stimulation of population is clearly recognized as a social need, a well-established and intelligent habit of birth control will be found to be an effective aid to revision upward as well as downward.

Asiatic Conflict and Overpopulation

By C. V. DRYSDALE

WERE it not for the grave preoccupation of the Western world with the present serious economic crisis, the menacing situation in the East would be its chief concern. India has been seething with discontent and sedition for the past few years; and China and Japan have come into serious conflict in Manchuria—a conflict which has so far only been restrained from developing into open warfare by the League of Nations, which has met practically open defiance of its decisions. Although the League has exercised a valuable restraining influence in many minor disputes, this is the first time that it has been confronted with a really serious crisis; and if it has succeeded in curbing the warlike spirit of the Japanese, it has suffered in dignity and revealed its inherent weakness.

This weakness is due to the sentimental idealism which has pervaded the League and peace movements generally, and their refusal to face the fundamental fact of the struggle for existence due to overpopulation. This is the great fact before which even Norman Angell's "Great Illusion" is impotent. Idealism and reason are alike powerless before starving men and starving nations; and all old nations with high birth-rates are starving.

China, Japan, and India are three starving nations. Chronic starvation has held the mass of the Chinese and Hindus in its grip for centuries; their apathetic fatalism and lack of national spirit have prevented them from being a menace to other nations. But Japan is different. Her overpopulation and poverty are now severe, yet they are of comparatively recent growth. Owing, no doubt, to the restriction of population which appears to have prevailed among them up to sixty years ago, the Japanese have become an intensely virile, patriotic, high-spirited, and progressive race; quick at adopting all the developments of Western civilization and keenly resentful of any slight on their national honor.

The history of population development in Japan is in striking contrast to that of other countries. The total area of Japan proper is 147,651 square miles, or 382,315 square kilometers, of which about 60,200 square kilometers are cultivable. During the Tokugawa Shogunate, which commenced early in the seventeenth century and continued until the Meiji restoration of 1868, the country was administered on feudal lines, and the great landowners appear to have discouraged a rapid increase of population. At any rate, the population only rose from 26,000,000 in 1723 to 27,000,000 in 1846, and to 33,000,000 in 1872, which was equivalent to a density of population of 550 per square kilometer or 2.2 per cultivable acre. The first record of the birth-rate, which was made in 1872, gave it as only 17 per thousand, which is about the same as the lowest figure to which European birth-rates have now fallen.

But with the Meiji restoration Western culture was favored, and Japan has adopted science and industrialism with astounding rapidity. As in European countries, this has led to rapid expansion of her towns and population; and her successes in the Chinese war of 1894, the Russian war of 1904, and the last great war have raised her to the position of a large Power and exalted the status of her military caste, who have sought to inspire the people with a militarist and expansionist spirit. Accordingly the population rapidly increased from 33,000,000 in 1872 to 41,500,000 in 1893, to 55,500,000 in 1913, and to over 60,000,000 in 1923, and it has since been increasing by about 700,000 a year; while the birth-rate has increased to about 34½ per thousand. As a result, the density of population has now risen to about 1,000 per cultivable square kilometer, which gives only about a quarter of an acre per head; and as the industry of Japan has not yet succeeded in securing a favorable balance of exports, owing largely to her dearth of coal, oil, and minerals except copper, she is almost wholly dependent on her own food production. Even with the most intensive culture her people are seriously undernourished.

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Notice what has happened to the death-rates. According to the doctrine of Malthus, population is held in check by food supplies, which as a rule can only be increased slowly. Hence, a high birth-rate should produce a high death-rate, and the death-rate can only be materially reduced by reducing the birth-rate. This was the fundamental basis for the neo-Malthusian or birth-control propaganda; and the fall of the English birth-rate from 36 to 17 has been accompanied by a fall of the death-rate from 21 to 12 per thousand as expected; which means that the average duration of life of the English people has increased from only forty years to about sixty years. But we are of course told that this is due to improved hygiene, sanitation, medical and surgical service, and "social services," and not to the fall in the birth-rate.

Japan, however, has increased her birth-rate. She has certainly not neglected science, sanitation, and the like, but her death-rate, from being only 11 per thousand, has risen to about 20. If these figures can be accepted, Japan has almost exactly reversed our experience, and the average duration of life of her people has *fallen* from about sixty to something like forty-five years. Taken in conjunction with the extremely small area of cultivable land per head, there is no possible doubt that Japan is now terribly overpopulated.

Although the Japanese greatly dislike leaving their native land, iron necessity has compelled them to emigrate. But to their intense resentment other countries have closed their doors. At the Paris conference of 1919 Japan claimed the principle of racial equality, which was refused; but she was given a footing in Manchuria, which is rich in the minerals she lacks; and she has accordingly developed railways and industries there. Only about 1,000,000 Japanese, however, have actually emigrated to Manchuria, as they do not seem to be able to endure a cold climate; there are also in Manchuria about 6,000,000 Manchus, 2,000,000 Russians, and 25,000,000 Northern Chinese of the warlike Tartar type who have never assimilated the general Chinese fatalism, and who have swarmed into Manchuria to escape from the grinding poverty and hopelessness of overpopulated China. A clash was inevitable. The Japanese government cannot be expected to leave to the mercy of lawless marauders the railways and factories they have developed at great cost; and the weak Chinese government is not likely to be able to restrain the excesses of these hunger-driven hordes.

India is in an even worse plight. She has a population of about 350,000,000, of which over 70 per cent can only obtain one meager meal a day. With a birth-rate of about 36 per thousand, or about 11,000,000 new infants each year, her death-rate is about 33 per thousand, and the average duration of life of her people is about twenty-seven years.

It is to be hoped that statesmen will at last have their eyes opened to the grim reality of the struggle for existence due to overpopulation. The League of Nations can never be worthy of, or have a right to expect, the respect and confidence of humanity until it enunciates as its first principle that no nation has a right to claim increase of territory on account of increase of its population; and that it is the first duty of every nation to limit its population to its resources, so that its people can live in comfort at home, before they can be permitted to enter freely into other countries. Every nation which transgresses this principle, and shows aggressive tendencies, should be warned by the League that if it causes a breach of the peace it will be held as guilty, and will have the whole influence of the League against it in any subsequent settlement.

Had this principle been enunciated years ago, the exclusion of Eastern immigrants from Western nations would at least have appeared reasonable, instead of an example of race or color prejudice. It is right for countries of low birth-rates and high standards of comfort to bar the immigration of poverty-stricken aliens of high fertility, who would depress that standard; but it should be on those grounds, and not as an insult to their race.

"The population question is of vital importance. I wish we did not shirk it so much." So wrote Lord Morley, who later became Viceroy of India; but he and all others have continued to shirk it. Fortunately, many of the more enlightened Asiatics have been wiser, and the lecture tour of Margaret Sanger in Japan and China in 1922 stimulated them to action. Japan, with the aid of Baron and Baroness Ishimoto, has secured birth-control clinics and will probably soon enter rapidly on the path of true civilization. India and China are following suit, and birth control will soon become the true "Light of Asia."

Birth Control, Religion, and the Unfit

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

EARNEST persons, studying social difficulties, find them gravely complicated by "the unfit." The unfit are common enough, from those of mere average incapacity, like ladies living on alimony, to admitted defectives living on our taxes. They are not only passively injurious as not earning their own livings, but actively injurious as consuming the livings of useful people.

We are mortified at our moronic average, alarmed at the increasing numbers of those far below it. Further, we find that the unfitter they are, the more lavishly they fulfil what some religionists assure us is the divine command—to increase and multiply and replenish the earth. Confronted with this difficulty, we propose to check the undesirable increase by the simple device of sterilizing the unfit. Unfortunately, when urging necessary legislation on the subject, we meet not only religious objections, but those of the unfit who are voters.

On further thought, seeking to antedate the disadvantageous reproduction, we seize on the benefits of birth control, a practice which does not interfere with the pleasures of the unfit but saves society from their reduplication. Again we are met by the indifference of the unfit as voters, and mere ignorance and stupidity are likewise often backed by the enormous power of religion.

Every religion believes itself to be the Truth, and warmly desires to increase its membership, not intelligence

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and ability being requisite, but numbers. On no account does it wish to check the increase of constituents, and low mentality among converts offers no obstacle. What terrors has our moronic level, the average intelligence of twelve-year-olds, to those who believe that of such is the kingdom of heaven?

Thus we find individual fundamentalists strongly opposed to any prudential checks to the increase of population, and in particular the immense authority of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church forbidding as a sin the use of contraceptives. Members of this faith not only are forbidden to practice birth control themselves, or even to study the facts and figures as to its social necessity, but they are urged to prevent other people from studying the question.

In a recent State convention of the League of Women Voters, when the committee on social hygiene had placed the subject of birth control on their proposed program of study, it was announced even before the discussion opened that the Roman Catholic members of the league would resign if it was favored. This was a foolish move. No one was asked to practice birth control or be instructed in it. No one was required to belong to this social-hygiene group, which proposed to study the economic and political aspects of a question which is forcing attention all over the world and demanding legislative action in this country. Any disapproving members were quite free to vote against its adoption on the program. But was it not unwise to seek to prevent other people from studying it through the threat of a wholesale resignation by members of one church?

It was unwise in stirring up religious prejudice. Unwise in reviving the old menace of church interference, and revealing the new menace of the increasing power of that church in this country. Unwise in opening up the inference that it preferred its members to vote without information, and that it desired unchecked increase in membership, no matter how unfit.

Quite apart from these special views lies the real importance of the question, both personal and social. Personal is the protest of the woman, who after all is more immediately concerned in the matter of birth than the man. Must she, if worn, exhausted, usually tortured, often killed in the process, bear children regardless of her own wish or ability, to the detriment of the entire family? Or may she choose, saying "Not this year," or "Not till we can afford it," or "Six is enough"? Deepest of all is the interest of the child, who has a right to vigorous parents and a well-cared-for youth. Improvement in our human stock is visibly needed.

But strong as is the personal claim for an intelligent parenthood, the social need is stronger, both in economics and in politics. In China and Japan we may see these effects well illustrated. With the more peaceful people the pressure of population results in a "saturated solution" of humanity, a mass of millions living on the verge of starvation and pushed over it by any large disaster as of flood or famine. With the more warlike Japanese we see an intelligent and competent people increasing beyond the maintenance capacity of their small mountainous country. Living on imported food, they are impelled, like England, to conquer and colonize in countries unable to resist them. Either this, or they must crowd and starve and die in economic suffocation, or they must limit their population.

Every country must sooner or later confront the same alternatives: crowd and starve, fight and die, or limit the population. Since it is not difficult to estimate what number a given country can support, and what average family will maintain that number, and since we may so maintain it without pain, danger, or even loss of pleasure, our descendants in a wiser age will marvel that there was any hesitation before so plain a duty.

The main obstacle is religion. Believing that we are divinely commanded to multiply, we have yet failed to do the simple example in multiplication which shows so clearly the results. If in our year 1 there had been but one couple alive, if they had but four children and died at about forty, at that modest rate of gain the end of a century would have shown a twelvefold increase, twenty-four people. Call it tenfold, for greater ease, count your centuries two thousand, and by the tenth you find two hundred billion. By our own time we should have opened the twentieth century with a nearly packed earth of two quadrillions of people. As we have but a little under two billion, and as we began a long way back of the year 1, it becomes painfully evident that we have died like fish spawn.

Child-bearing is not so easy and painless as birth control. Throughout all our history women have been urged and compelled to bear enough children to meet the constant waste of life which their numbers necessitated. It is a method worthy of the blind force we call nature, but shamefully unworthy of the intelligence of human beings. It is for women, the bearers and rearers of children, to decide on the numbers needed. Where nations need a larger population, women should bear more; if the country is crowded, they should bear fewer; parents above the average, parents to be proud of, should give the world as many children as they can.

Birth Control in Disease

By S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF, M.D.

IN my lifelong work for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, I have seen many a woman afflicted with this disease who became pregnant and whose lung condition was seriously aggravated thereby, causing premature death. These experiences caused me to become an ardent advocate of scientific, judicious, and ethical birth control. Had timely and careful prevention of conception been instituted, those mothers might have lived many more years, because uncomplicated tuberculosis is curable in most instances.

The tuberculosis germ is everywhere, and only when we are strong and healthy does it fail to do us any harm; too frequently repeated pregnancies, even in strong women, will undermine the system and make it less resistant. To prevent tuberculosis, every married woman should have an annual health examination and at least a two-year interval to recover from pregnancy before getting into that condition again.

When there are already too many children and the husband's earnings are small, the result is underfeeding, overcrowding, and often insufficient clothing in cold weather. These three causes undermine the system, so that the germ of tuberculosis can get easy hold. Large families are often compelled to allow their children to help add to the family budget. If there is anything which especially predisposes

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young people between fifteen and twenty to tuberculosis, it is having had their growth and general development stunted by childhood labor. Many children elude the supervision of the overburdened mother and, alas, too often stray from the path of virtue; in later years the boys are inclined to join gangs and become lawbreakers. These children frequently become victims of tuberculosis because of the enfeebled condition of the mother, who could not transmit much physical strength to the later born, and the inevitable underfeeding.

Everybody knows that sun, good air, and food are helpful in the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. It must be evident how little of these can be had in an overcrowded tenement house with from six to ten people living in two or three rooms. Underfeeding and overcrowding are responsible for many cases of tuberculosis. Every consumptive is a source of infection unless he is careful to destroy his infectious sputum. When the tuberculous mother becomes pregnant, it is exceedingly difficult to prevent the baby which she carries under her heart from becoming infected. Although the disease is not usually considered hereditary, the circulation of the mother's blood with that of the unborn child is so intimate that the secretions of the bacilli in the blood render the child more susceptible to tuberculosis. Even if the mother is careful and does not kiss the new-born child, the close contact will usually result in the child becoming directly infected. Thus if the tuberculous wife becomes pregnant, her own life and that of her child are seriously jeopardized.

Such catastrophes can be avoided by the proper and timely application of contraceptives. Prevention of conception in tuberculous or strongly predisposed women is one of the important factors in the reduction of the tuberculosis mortality rate. How much greater would this reduction be if birth control became more universal, if all physicians were properly educated in the prevention of conception, and if all women knew that by applying to their physicians or birth-control clinics for advice their lives, if in danger, would be spared.

However, it is not only tuberculosis which becomes aggravated by an added pregnancy. Many other ailments, such as kidney, heart, nervous and mental diseases, often cause the untimely death of mothers whose lives might be preserved if proper contraceptive methods could be instituted in time. One condition which leads often to serious mental trouble is the so-called anxiety neurosis: the woman's constant fear of becoming pregnant when her physical or economic condition will not permit any addition to the family. When pregnancy does occur, the woman, in desperation, often resorts to abortion, which frequently leads to chronic invalidism or death. These criminal abortions are largely responsible for our country's fearful maternal mortality rate. One would think that the whole American medical profession would be aroused to prevent such conditions.

It is an injustice and an untruth when our opponents maintain that birth control—that is to say, the judicious, scientific application of harmless measures to prevent conception—is the same as abortion. Abortion is life-destroying; birth control is life-saving.

While there are a number of States where physicians may give contraceptive advice, there are strict federal laws which make interstate exchange of medical information or the importation of scientific literature or articles helpful in saving women's lives impossible. Five years in federal prison or a $5,000 fine or both await the violator of this inhuman law.

What misery and suffering would be spared to women and children if all laws against birth control were annulled and its practice under medical supervision were considered a public utility, as in Holland, and not a public menace, as our opponents maintain! What would not be gained if we followed the example of Holland, where birth control has been officially sanctioned for over fifty years! Fewer mothers would die from tuberculosis and other diseases, leaving orphaned children. Young people who now hesitate to marry for fear of too large families would not fear if they knew that they could space the arrival of children according to their economic condition. There would be fewer marital maladjustments, fewer divorces, less illegitimacy; prostitution, syphilis, and crime would diminish. In the little land of Holland there is a gradual increase of population although birth control is legalized. Quality counts more than quantity. There is better economic and physical well-being of the people at large. The men called to military duty are two inches taller than the average height fifty years ago. The maternal and general mortality rates are the lowest of all civilized countries. Let us do likewise and become also a model for other nations.

The Spiritual Aspect of Birth Control

By GEORGE B. LAKE, M.D.

WE of the Western races, and particularly so in the United States, it seems, are greatly concerned with material values; and that is right and proper, for it is our contribution to the world's experience and development. Danger arises, however, when we begin to feel that tangibles are the only values, for the most powerful and advanced minds among the "orthodox" scientists are now telling us that what we have looked upon as "solid matter" is merely a form of manifestation of energy—a tenuous collection of electric charges, thrown into a pattern by some stupendous Intelligence behind it all, of which our intelligences are parts. And "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

During the past decade or less, birth control has been rather widely discussed in its hygienic, economic, and social aspects, and widely reprobated on grounds of dogmatic theology, which latter is entirely outside of its field because, like all other matters with which human beings are concerned, it is neither right nor wrong in itself, those qualities depending solely upon how it is used and by whom. The time has now come for considering the great spiritual values which undoubtedly inhere in it.

Contraception has been practiced by the more civilized members of the human race as far back as there is any historical record of anything approaching civilization. That is one of the reasons why civilization developed. It is regularly practiced today, solely or chiefly by the more enlightened people of our time, because the methods now available require a rather high degree of intelligence and unselfishness for their successful use. Birth control for the masses will come

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nly with the development of biologic methods of contra-eption, which now seems to be in the rather immediate uture.

Procreation is not the sole or even the chief end served y the sexual mating of human beings of opposite genders. Such unions, between civilized and enlightened persons, are he beautiful and ennobling physical expression of a union f souls and a potent means whereby such higher unions are onsummated and developed, the bearing and rearing of hildren being a later, though important, part of the de-elopment.

When a man and woman enter upon the legalized and ecognized sexual and social relationship we call marriage, considerable period of time is required for the adjustment f their physical, emotional, and mental natures to each ther. The early months or years of married life are full f delicate psycho-physical adaptations and equalizations and re fraught with possibilities of the richest and most satisfy-ng experiences imaginable, or, on the other hand, of life-ong frustration and disaster. The activity of our divorce ourts testifies that these mutual concessions and compromises re not always made.

If during these critical months or years the delicate alance existing between the man and wife is upset by the hysical disturbances suffered by a woman during pregnancy nd the economic and social anxieties which too often ac-ompany the immediate prospect of being saddled with the esponsibility of caring for another, and helpless, human eing, the possibility of a satisfying and spiritually produc-ive adjustment to life is often irretrievably wrecked.

Nor is the honeymoon period the only time when the living of an unembarrassed and fully expressive sex life is desirable and necessary. As a man and woman go on living together, growing into a sweeter and stronger love and de-veloping intellectually and spiritually, their expanding con-sciousness and devotion require frequent physical expres-sion, in order that griefs may be minimized, joys increased, and the bonds of tenderness and sympathy strengthened.

The so-called lower animals and barbarous men mate and breed promiscuously and without restraint, in obedience to an unreasoned instinct; but as the race emerges farther and farther from savagery, the aesthetic and emotional fac-tors in sex life loom larger and larger. Psychic inhibitions, of which fear and anger are the most destructive, can render the conjugal embrace wholly unsatisfying or even impossible to cultured and sensitive persons.

Among the causes of fear afflicting married persons in their amatory relations, there is probably none so frequent as is dread of an undesired and inopportune pregnancy. Moreover, deep and serious thought must be given to the devastating emotional and spiritual surroundings of the un-wanted child, born into an atmosphere of anxiety, or even of hate.

The time has come when the human race must either take the next step in its spiritual evolution or retrogress. Life does not stand still. Woman has to a large extent been liberated from her economic and political bondage, but she cannot stand beside man in the fulness of freedom, as the other half of his soul, until she is emancipated from the fetters of involuntary motherhood. None need fear that such emancipation will result in the extinction of the race, for the maternal urge is as imperative as is that of sex.

If men and women are to fulfil their basic cosmic func-tions as developers and perfecters of each other's souls, the physical expression of their soaring love must be released from the shackles which so often bind it to the physiologic function of procreation; and until we remove the archaic and hypocritical legal restrictions on the dissemination of in-formation to this end, we have little reason for calling our-selves a civilized nation.

Birth Control and Sex Morality

By WILLIAM ALLEN PUSEY, M.D.

THE physician, more than most men, is forced to a realization of the utter inconsistency and futility of society's attitude toward sex. He of all men is constantly forced to a realization that sex is the dominant subtle influence of life. Hunger may surpass it as an in-sistent appetite, but the satisfaction of hunger is associated with no social complications, and is not often a serious problem to civilized man in the Western world. The relation of the sexes is the unsolved problem of Christian civiliza-tion. Nature makes the sexual appetite insistent. Society says that the appetite must be suppressed, but, it need not be said, does not abide by its precept. The irresistible bio-logical fact and the attitude of society furnish a constant conflict in which nature is inevitably the victor. One cannot frankly contemplate this situation without realizing that the social attitude is not only insincere and dishonest but stupid and fraught with tragedy.

To face this situation frankly does not mean that the only biological solution of it is unrestricted sexual license, but it does involve the conclusion that any successful hand-ling of the sex problem necessitates a reasonable provision for the enjoyment of sex. It should be society's business to see that this is attained by providing proper conditions of married life. In rare circumstances satisfactory marital rela-tions can be built upon a platonic foundation, upon the higher aspirations and tastes of life alone, but it is neverthe-less true that sexual life is the elemental fact upon which satisfactory family life as a rule depends, and without satis-factory sexual experience married life is apt to be irreparably damaged.

It is here that the importance of birth control comes into the problem. Nature gets rid of an excess of any species by the most rigorous and relentless destruction. In-stead of accepting this dire method, intelligent man always exercises some form of birth control. And it is in this effort at birth control in married life that such havoc is played with marital happiness. In the lack of knowledge of how to attain the end that must be attained—in other words, in the lack of knowledge of proper methods of birth control—penalties are put upon what should be the proper pleasure of sexual life in marriage that often utterly destroy it. It is particularly in the plastic period of young married life, when success and failure in marriage are in the balance, that this unhappy factor has its widest play and does so much to bring about marital failure. And this situation arises largely as a result of the anxiety and failures that come from un-

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successful efforts at birth control. There could be no greater contribution to the morality of the world, as well as to its happiness, than would be the removal of this barrier to marital satisfaction.

Even in irregular sexual life there are, I believe, good grounds for the advocacy of birth control. It is a sad fact that under the conditions that civilization sets up sexual immorality is common. It is of course altogether deplorable, but it is a fact that, with men—and women—as they are, is inevitable. Even in women it is by no means restricted to those who are beyond the bounds of human protection or of humane efforts for their care. The professional prostitute has no problem of birth control; nature usually takes care of that, but anyway she is not racked by the fear of the shame of an accidental child, or by any compunction about abortion. But for all except the hardened prostitute the situation is different. Under the standard which society sets up but does not observe, an illegitimate child is a fact for which there can be no atonement, either by the mother or, what even to those mothers is more important, by the child. With the sexual instinct as it is, with society stimulating the appetite by every device that ingenuity can suggest—by prurient literature, drama, and art, especially by suggestive dress—with the possibility of marriage refused to many women, with the atonement for the illegitimate child beyond any possibility, women of any intelligence or decent instincts who find themselves in this condition—and there are plenty of women of this sort who find themselves in this condition—can see only one possibility of escape and that is abortion. They will resort to it regardless of any penalties that the law may set up or of the risks of death that it entails. They cannot do anything else. The aggregate of human agony that results is beyond any computation. In order to avoid argument I am not saying that these women are not deserving of their agony, but I would call attention to the fact that it would be better for society if the situation were handled differently. Birth control is better than abortion.

Education and Birth Control

By JOHN DEWEY

THE opposition to the birth-control movement is not a unique or isolated fact. It is an expression of an ever-recurring struggle between darkness and knowledge. We are given to thinking that science has overthrown all enemies to its advance. This may be true of the technical aspects of science, those which have no clear social bearings. It is not true when newly discovered knowledge has important bearings upon the conduct of life. There is always a rearguard of ignorance, prejudice, dogma, routine, tradition, which fights against the spread of new ideas that entail new practices. It has been so in astronomy, physics, biology. It is not surprising that it is so in the case of medicine.

The line of battle changes. The particular ideas that are resisted change. But relatively the fight is constant. Men do not any longer, except a few cranks, strive against the Copernican astronomy. But some conflict between new truth and what is old and intrenched goes on, and probably will go on as long as man lives with a past behind him and a future ahead of him.

We forget how comparatively recent is any scientific knowledge concerning the processes of procreation and conception. It was only late in intellectual history that they were discovered to be chemical in nature, and that something of their mechanism was learned. Now, new knowledge always means the possibility of new control. With this particular scientific discovery there arose the possibility of intelligent control of blind natural processes. This is the logic of the birth-control movement. Just as expanding knowledge of electricity brought with it the electric light, telegraph, telephone, dynamo, so scientific knowledge of the transmission of life enables mankind to bring that process under human direction. Because knowledge always means increased control, there can be no doubt of where ultimate victory will lie in this particular conflict. The conflict between ignorance and knowledge becomes one between chance and control.

Meantime, however, individuals are prevented by law and by public sentiment from access to the knowledge which would give them more complete control of their conduct—laws and public sentiment that were formed when adequate scientific knowledge was lacking. How can anyone who believes in education and in enlightenment of the public through education fail to be opposed to this restriction on the flow of intelligence? The opposition to it should be all the stronger because what is proposed is only a legislation which places the source of this flow in the hands of scientists and physicians. There is always wholesome sanitation wherever there is free circulation of intelligence. We need light and circulation of air in intellectual and moral matters as in physical. Suppression and secrecy breed unfairness, mental and moral disorder. Our plea, from the side of education, is that there be removed arbitrary restrictions to that movement of knowledge and understanding which brings the action of the blind forces of nature under the control of intelligence.

The other point I wish to make is just as simple. All educators today attach great importance to the development of individual capacities. They are all opposed to merely mass education, to regimentation, the lock step, to uniformity imposed upon boys and girls, no two of whom are alike. But as long as multitudes of families have too many children and those children badly spaced, it is not possible for each child to have proper individual attention—physical, intellectual, moral. I have no hesitation in saying that no matter what educators may say and do in behalf of better development of individuals as individuals, their ideals cannot be realized unless there is intelligent control of the size of families. Mere mass and number will stand in the way with the great majority of families.

I can think of no change which would be more beneficial than one which would make us prize quality more and quantity less. Our American zeal for size is one thing that stands in the way of our giving proper attention to higher values. The exaggerated importance attached to size has affected our schools and the instruction they give. It stands in the way of a multitude of desirable improvements. If parents were in a position to make quality of life supreme in their own households, the larger problem of the schools would be taken care of.

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How We Nullify

By MORRIS L. ERNST

A CONVENTION was held in Philadelphia in 1787. Fifty men were discussing the formulation of a new constitution. This group composed the Constitutional Convention of the United States of America. The men gathered at the convention were discussing free speech, free press, and other basic contributions to the history of government. At their homes their wives were discussing the price of tea, the latest play or poem, and, no doubt, also the most modern methods for preventing conception. From that time on, for about a hundred years, there was no ban in the United States on the spread of birth-control information or apparatus. As proof thereof, go to your public library. In every city of the nation any interested person who looks over the files can find in practically every American newspaper published up to about 1870 columns full of advertisements setting forth the merits of various alleged contraceptives.

As I write I have on my desk a copy of the New York *Herald* of October 18, 1842. "Prevention Powders," "To Married Ladies," "Portuguese Female Pills" are some of the headings of advertisements which today would be deemed inadequate and unaesthetic prescriptions. But the art of contraception was young. Considerations of aesthetics were scarcely contemplated, although a certain amount of research and progress was indicated prior to 1870. But advertisements were legal. At about that time Comstockery stalked into the land under the aegis of J. Pierpont Morgan, and a rigid censorship of information about, and apparatus for, birth control was imposed upon the American people. Every means of communication was barred for this field of thought. It became a crime to ship such data through the mails, the customs, the express offices; and, in addition, nearly every State in the Union made it an offense to dispense contraceptive advice.

Many men and women were sent to jail during the period commencing with 1870 for spreading information which was entirely legal during the preceding century of our national history. The Vice Society of the city of New York must be given full credit for turning off the light. From 1870 on, the medical profession was compelled to bootleg advanced scientific thought. European knowledge in connection with the prevention of conception was smuggled into our clinics. Advertising of sound medical products had to be carried on by stealth, and contraceptive devices in consequence were sold at premium prices. Quackery was encouraged.

In the United States we seldom, if ever, repeal moral legislation. It is my belief that long before all the birth-control laws now on the statute books have been repealed, they will have been openly nullified. Our treatment of birth-control blue laws will not be very different from our attitude toward the Sunday blue laws of New England still extant under the ordinances and statutes of the New England communities.

Already we have cut away vast chunks from the birth-control statutes. In 1918 the Court of Appeals of New York State first used the ax when it declared that birth-control information could be legally dispensed by doctors and nurses if necessary for the "prevention of disease." At that point the court could have placed a narrow legalistic construction on the word "disease," but instead, it directed the community to the general wide definition of disease to be found in a lay dictionary.

In 1929 a second big section was taken out of the law. At that time, at the behest of representatives of a Catholic Big Sisters group, the Police Department of the city of New York, under Commissioner Whalen, caused the Birth Control Clinic in New York City to be raided. Dr. Hannah M. Stone and various members of her staff were haled into court. A contraceptive device had been prescribed for and sold to a policewoman who had entered the clinic under an alias for the purpose of entrapment. The medical profession of the community was aroused primarily because a number of confidential patient cards were taken from the clinic during the raid and never returned by the police. The sanctity of privileged communications had been so violated that the medical profession for the first time was willing to declare itself openly on the question of birth control.

At the trial the issue involved the further broadening of the definition of "disease." Did the Court of Appeals mean that the disease must be venereal in nature? Is disease a broad enough term to include a threatened ailment to the mother because of additional offspring? Would "ailment" cover the threatened health of the family? What about traces of parental tuberculosis? How far would the testimony of psychologists as to the emotional attitude of a woman toward childbirth be permitted as a determining factor in the definition of disease? In that particular case it so happened that the police stool pigeon had indicated that she was the mother of three children, aged one, three, and five, and that she wished to prevent another pregnancy. The evidence of the medical profession, as well as the reports of the federal-government Health Service, clearly indicated a great increase in mortality of offspring born under conditions of improper spacing of births. The chances of good health for the stool pigeon's fourth baby, if born within a year of her youngest child, would be far less than if she waited another year. Both she and the child would be threatened with an ailment or disease, defense counsel contended, in the event that another pregnancy followed so quickly. In addition, various physical ailments were discerned by the doctors at the Birth Control Clinic at the time of the examination of the policewoman. Supplementing this evidence, Dr. Foster Kennedy, Dr. Frederick C. Holden, Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, Dr. Max D. Mayer, and Dr. Louis I. Harris testified during the course of the trial. These medical witnesses believed, as a matter of medical knowledge, that both mother and child were threatened with disease not only by direct infant mortality or loss of the mother's life, but also by the shattering of the mother's glandular or emotional system through the improper spacing of births or through the birth of offspring when the mother was not in proper physical

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condition. An absurd aspect of this case arose from the fact that under the stupidities of our jurisprudence a non-medical jurist was endowed with power to determine a medical fact. It became incumbent upon the magistrate to review medical testimony and, in effect, to analyze the correctness of medical diagnoses.

Dr. Stone and her coworkers were set free by the court. By this second case the definition of disease was further enlarged. Infection and contagion are not the sole frontiers of threats to good health.

The third important case involved the distribution through the mails of contraceptives. A manufacturer of a contraceptive device endeavored to enjoin a competitor who had stolen the firm trademark in a competitive business. The injunction was denied in the lower federal court, but the Circuit Court of Appeals, by an intelligent and revolutionary opinion, granted the injunction, incidentally indicating that the Lee Rubber Company had been selling that particular style of device to druggists and doctors throughout the land to the extent of 20,000,000 a year. The issue in that case was highly amusing. The law states that it is illegal to send through the mails articles "intended for preventing conception." It was urged that these articles were not exclusively devised for the prevention of conception since they were also devised for the prevention of disease, and the court, in effect, held that an article to come under the ban must be exclusively intended for the prevention of birth, and that if it had any other lawful purpose, it might be sent through the mails, at least to doctors and their agents. By this case it became clear that under certain circumstances contraceptive apparatus may lawfully be sent through the mails.

In a fourth case recently decided by Judge Woolsey it was determined that books dealing in detail with contraceptive information may be legally imported into the United States. The test case involved the Putnam edition of "Contraception," by Dr. Marie C. Stopes. This book describes in great detail contraceptive devices and contains diagrams and pictures thereof. Judge Woolsey held that prohibition under the customs-law ban only applied to the contraceptive articles themselves and that literature on the subject was not proscribed. By this decision the best of the European knowledge on the subject may legally be imported into the United States. Thus the doctors may receive the devices by mail and the knowledge by importation.

During the last few years a great number of books dealing with contraceptive devices have been sent through the mails with the full knowledge of the government officials, who for one reason or another have thought it wise to make no issue out of such mailings. It is my guess that within a few years a case will arise under the following circumstances: A book discussing birth-control methods, but treating the subject from the point of view of prevention of disease, will be sent through the mails. I believe that the courts will then hold that because the Lee Rubber Company case permitted the contraceptive article itself to pass through the mails, it would be absurd to ban pictures of such an article or words describing it. About five years thereafter there will probably be another raid made by police officers, and the definition of disease will be further expanded so as to include the case of a mother of five children, husband drunk most of the time, family income $14 a week, home unfit for decent human life. The court will hold that disease is a broad enough term to include the threatened physical or spiritual ailments bound to occur to the occupants of such a home. Some years thereafter a test case will involve the danger of offspring to the health of a woman who is in perfect physical condition but who has psychological fears of the birth of a child. The court will become solicitous of female temperament. Even a neurosis may shatter a law. During this time the scope of the law in most jurisdictions will make no distinction between married or unmarried women, but eventually we shall have a case which will involve the threatened ailment of an unmarried woman. Then the courts will hold that a wedding ring is not the only requisite for relief from disease.

At present the advocates of free press and free speech are battling in divided camps. There are those who contend for freedom of thought like that propounded by the Founders of this nation. I, for one, wish to go back to the practices of the first one hundred years of the nation. There is another group which claims to be more practical and is willing to accept compromises. In the main, they urge that the censorship of birth control should apply only to the general public and are willing to concede that the doctor alone should be immune from the censorship. For my part, I believe that the compromisers are the unpractical ones unless their policy is dictated by the conviction that it is impossible for any nation to censor material for only a part of the public. Possibly those who are in favor of compromising on this issue feel sure that if birth-control material and information can be made legal for the offices of doctors and prescription rooms of druggists, there will be no practical way of preventing such literature reaching the eyes of the general public.

In the Driftway

SHERWOOD ANDERSON, when he left the world and went to live in Virginia, built himself a house, and about the house he tells the following story. It was a large, rather pretentious stone dwelling, the like of which had rarely been seen in those parts. The neighbors were not only his carpenters and stone masons but his constant advisers and general helpmeets. One day an old man came to the house in process of construction, a man named Jake, who was not only nearing his eightieth birthday but was known to be suffering from a fatal disease. "I want to help you build your house," he said. Anderson asked him what he could do. "I can work stone; I'd like to make the stones for your lintel." Asked if he had ever done stone work, he said: "I've been a stone mason for forty years." The master-carpenter, who knew him well, declared Jake had never done a day's stone work in his life. Nevertheless, Anderson was enough impressed to allow him to try his hand. If he could fashion a few stones satisfactorily, he was to be paid five dollars. And to this he readily—even happily—agreed.

* * * * *

FOR weeks he puttered about, choosing, dragging, chipping, fashioning. At last the stones were done, and they were done beautifully. He took his five dollars and went off, and a few days later came word that he was dead.

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He had lived alone in a little cabin far off from town. They found him stretched out on a poor pallet, but in the little yard back of the house was—his masterpiece. There lay two stones, carved with his name, cut with grooves to make them secure when they were stood upright in the earth. And on the ground between them were carefully marked out the outlines of what he had intended for his grave. They buried him there as he had wished, and set the stones up for markers. There he lies, the man who wanted to help with the house. He was not and had never been a stone mason. But out of his secret and irresistible desire to be one had come, with infinite patience and labor, the proficiency and skill he needed.

* * * * *

THIS touching story of Jake and his stones is arresting in an age of speed-up production and the dreary job which is done because it must be. Most persons today do for their livelihood a task which they had rather not do at all. It is no wonder that when the working day is over they at once attempt to escape—to the movies or the speakeasy, to any form of entertainment that will help them forget their work. The Drifter has often imagined a world in which every man and woman exercised all his capacities at tasks which he or she had chosen and preferred doing to all others. There would still be, of course, many unpleasant functions that had to be performed, for obviously certain tasks could be agreeable to no one. If he were dictator—even the Drifter has sometimes briefly considered what in that remote event he would do!—he would order that machinery be devised for just these unwelcome occupations. Anything that a man could not be found to do cheerfully and profitably must be done by a machine. There would, of course, always be some persons who liked to operate the machines. And the Drifter would go farther. Those tasks which could not either be done happily by men and women or expeditiously and painlessly by a machine need never be done! If this imperial fiat could be confidently uttered, he fancies that most of the other ills which trouble civilization would be taken care of. For everybody would then be like Jake the stone cutter, and all the surplus energy in the world would be put to proper and enduring use.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

For Mooney's Freedom

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Effectively to focus public attention on the nation-wide demand for Tom Mooney's pardon, an afternoon conference has been called at Washington, D. C., Sunday, January 24, at 2:30 p.m., at the Hotel Hamilton, Fourteenth and K Streets. Tom Mooney's friends from various cities throughout the United States are being invited.

This conference will be followed by a public meeting at 8 p.m. at the Friends' Meeting House, 2111 Florida Avenue. The speakers will be:

Senator Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado;
Senator Bronson Cutting, of New Mexico;
Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana;
Mr. Edward Nockels, Secretary Chicago Federation of Labor;
Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Chairman General Conference of American Rabbis;
Father John A. Ryan, Director National Catholic Welfare Conference;
Worth M. Tippy, Executive Secretary Social Service Commission of Federal Council of Churches.

Edward Keating, Editor of *Labor*, will be chairman.

Nation readers have helped in the effort to vindicate Tom Mooney; therefore we strongly urge that they attend the Washington meetings, together with their friends.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ, Chairman
Tom Mooney Pardon Conference of New York

New York, January 15

"Lost Boy"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some twenty-five years ago I was one of those civic-minded persons who advocated the Juvenile Court for delinquent children. It was then considered the greatest boon to the misunderstood child to be given a chance to be heard by a judge (no one dreamed then that there might be in the near future a woman judge of the Juvenile Court) in a separate court away from the trials of the adult and hardened criminal. We all remember well what men like Judge Lindsay and Judge Mack did in those early days for the children who came under their jurisdictions.

It has been painfully disillusioning to go into the average court where children are being tried today. The judge and the chief probation officer may be part-time men engaged in the practice of law or some other business, whose angle of vision is tinged by the material aspect of things rather than the vital one of the protection of the child before them against a hard, materialistic world. I have sat through many hearings that made me quiver with apprehension for the future of the child being tried. Often I have been impelled to go to the judge after court hours to make a plea for a defendant child. How often I have yearned for the ability so brilliantly displayed by Mr. T. C. Upham, the author of the play "Lost Boy," recently put on the boards at the Mansfield Theater!

To sit through a performance of this play tightens the skin on one's head and makes one's back creep with chills. The portrayal is so realistic that I sat on the edge of my seat and I had to hold myself back several times from crying out in defense of this suffering, misunderstood lad whose life and spirit were being squeezed out in the process of the formalities that we set up for the young in our inflexible, rigid adult world!

Social workers talk glibly now of the "hand-minded" child and the chance to which he is entitled in the scheme of things; but the truant officer seldom investigates the actual causes of the child's absence from the classroom; the teacher scolds him when he becomes a repeater in his grade; and the other pupils in his class laugh at him when he is behind in his work and cannot recite his lessons correctly. Then, to escape the poisonous atmosphere of the classroom, he runs into bullying boys on the outside, and even there, unable to cope with the actual mischief-making of the street urchins, he again becomes a failure, a misfit, and an undesirable. It is this type of boy who, when left behind on the scene of a crime, will take the blame upon himself, risking all to gain the regard of his fellow-men, or else a sense of loyalty will prevent him from squealing.

I appeal to the public who must love justice and fair play, at least for our innocent children, to go to the Mansfield Theater and see for themselves what in our ignorance and

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neglect we do to the precious lives of our underprivileged children. I appeal still more to our teachers and school principals and Juvenile Court personnel to see this play.

Not to give particular mention to the youth, Elisha Cook, Jr., who takes the leading role in the play, would be to do him a great injustice.

New York, January 12 EVA ROBIN

The Peace Caravan

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your inclusion of the work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on your Honor Roll for 1931 is of course gratifying. It may interest you and your readers to know that much of the league's executive efficiency and accomplishment, which you praise, centered about the transcontinental peace caravan, of which Mabel Vernon, the league's finance secretary, was the originator and director.

Denver, January 9 ANNE MARTIN

[The Editors of *The Nation* regret that in bestowing well-merited praise on Dorothy Detzer for her admirable efforts in the general work of the Women's International League, they did not also mention Miss Vernon and Miss Katherine Devereux Blake for their work in connection with the Peace Caravan.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

The Real Discoverer of Duprene

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wish to file a protest against your omission of the name of Father J. A. Nieuwlands of Notre Dame University from your Honor Roll for 1931. Dr. Nieuwlands is the real discoverer of duprene, as was made abundantly clear in his paper before the Indiana Academy of Science which was presented here last December. As a Protestant, I trust that the Nobel prize will some day be awarded to Father Nieuwlands, for in my judgment he abundantly deserves it. I am writing you in order that you may give honor where honor is due.

Indianapolis, January 6 FREDERICK D. KERSHNER

The Blue and the Gray

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It might interest you to know that the Civil War, alias the war between the States, is over. I find proof of the fact on a gasoline bill sent by the Gulf Refining Company, which states that the Washington-Hoover Airport Service Station is located on the Jefferson Davis Highway at South Washington, Virginia.

Philadelphia, January 7 DAVID W. AMRAM

For Long Island Readers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should like to get in touch with *Nation* readers and their friends in and around Huntington and Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, who are interested in forming a discussion group. My address is Box 248, Huntington Station, L. I.

Huntington, N. Y., January 14 JACOB BRAM

Finance

Crystal-Gazing in Wall Street

ANYONE who has been reading that voluminous literature which is published daily by Wall Street brokerage firms forecasting the movement of stock prices must have been impressed with the extent to which the "averages" serve as a basis of prediction. It is almost a cabalistic art, founded on the theory that the establishment of certain levels on the price charts, the penetration of these levels by current price swings, and particularly the behavior of certain groups of prices (railway shares with relation to industrial shares, principally) foreshadow the ensuing movement, up or down. As is always the case with an oracle, much depends on how the phenomena are interpreted, and which phenomena are selected for interpretation.

In bare outline the technology of the system is about as follows: The area between the most recent maximum and minimum prices, as determined by the price index selected, constitutes a "trading range." Thus, at the present writing, the Standard Statistics Company's index of ninety stocks, which includes groups of industrials, rails, and utilities, shows a high point of 66.7 on December 19 and a low point of 60 on January 5. Prices recently have been moving within those boundaries, nearer to the maximum than to the minimum. The upper level of 66.7 constitutes a "resistance point," the theory being that should prices again climb up to that level and attempt to break through, a great deal of stock would promptly be thrown on the market by those mistaken individuals who had previously bought at that point, had seen their holdings depreciate in value, and now seized the opportunity to get out without a loss. Should prices continue upward in spite of this pressure, the inference would be justified that the buying was of better quality than the selling, and it would be an augury of further advance.

On the other hand, it is presumed that a volume of potential buying is waiting to assert itself around the lower level (60, in the illustration here used). If prices should decline and break through this point, it would be argued that the latent demand was non-existent, and a substantial further decline to a new "bottom" would be expected. A further refinement of the chart theory has it that a movement of prices of industrial stocks outside of the trading range must be "confirmed" subsequently, or anticipated, by a corresponding movement of the railway average. In other words, should the industrials touch a new high while the railroad index lags below its previous maximum, the industrial advance would be considered abortive, to be followed by a downward reaction; whereas a movement of railway shares into new high ground would, theoretically, be followed by a similar and sustained movement of the industrials.

It cannot be denied that in a surprising number of clear-cut cases this sequence has "worked." That part of the theory relating to the significance of the railway averages, in particular, has demonstrated its validity; but it appears that the margin of proof must be wide beyond the possibility of misunderstanding. Recently the railway shares have touched a new high level, some 23 per cent above the January low, while the industrials almost simultaneously did likewise, with a gain of about 11 per cent, but neither of the new high average prices is as much as two points above the previous highs—those of December. Something more convincing than this is needed. If prices continue to reflect improvement in the railway outlook, and if the industrials follow, the chart readers will claim a Q. E. D. Others, if they choose, may ascribe the rise to less abstruse causes.

S. PALMER HARMAN

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Books, Art, Drama

This Nonchalant Pause of Earth

By FLORENCE KIPER FRANK

This nonchalant pause of earth that turns
Toward the renewal of the spring
Is alien from the flesh that burns
To its brief perishing.

Now do the churlish bones protest
Serenity of mellow trees,
And the quick veins can find no rest
Where water is at ease.

Under the unprecipitate moon
The blood cannot accept its fate.
Upon the languid air of noon
Sight is insatiate.

The heart is rebel in the side
Against the indolent decay,
Fretting the rhythm of its pride
Within the golden day.

The Perfect Secretary of War

Newton D. Baker: America at War. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead and Company. Two volumes. $7.50.

MR. PALMER'S volumes are based on Mr. Baker's personal papers, his correspondence with President Wilson and the war-time leaders of the country, the confidential telegrams between the War Department and General Pershing's headquarters in France, and much other first-hand material. Therefore he has had an unexcelled opportunity to write the final and definitive story of Mr. Baker's career as head of the War Department during our participation in the World War, a story especially timely because of the possibility that Mr. Baker may be the Democratic nominee for the Presidency next June. But this opportunity Mr. Palmer has not seized. He has given us a most readable one-sided narrative of Mr. Baker's career in the War Department. More than that, he has recorded, with vigor, enthusiasm, and comprehensiveness, the gigantic efforts made by this country during the less than two years we were in the war, and his narrative compels renewed admiration for the speed and the military efficiency of that stupendous achievement. As a bird's-eye view of the nation at war it can hardly be surpassed, and Mr. Palmer has known how to weave into his narrative many facts and statistics without in the least weakening the reader's interest. As for the military operations in France, of which Mr. Palmer was in large degree an eyewitness, we cannot think of any other brief portrayal of them as valuable. The story marches along. Moreover, it presents a most appealing picture of the ability, the devotion, and the incredible laboriousness of Mr. Baker during the fateful years 1918-19, especially of his infinite patience and long-suffering under the most malicious, spiteful, and unjust attacks upon his actions, his personality, and his motives. The book will undoubtedly lead many to an entirely different opinion of Mr. Baker from that which they held during the days of the struggle.

When that is said, however, there is not much else to be added in praise of Mr. Palmer's work. For it is journalism and not history, and partisan journalism at that. It wholly lacks scientific detachment, as it does the genuinely critical attitude—this despite the fact that in a letter published in the first volume Mr. Baker, under date of January 6, 1930, wrote to Mr. Palmer that he had read "every book you have written and they have uniformly demonstrated your patient fidelity to history." Mr. Palmer's tale is, moreover, a complete eulogy; it seems as if his hero could do no wrong. I cannot recall an instance in which it appears that Mr. Baker erred after he took office, "with a fighting jaw and a whimsical eye." Mr. Baker, it seems, anticipated the wisest generals, surpassed the foresight of the most experienced statesmen, and knew just when to overlook and to avoid executing the orders of his commander-in-chief when the occupant of the White House blundered, as, for example, in ordering the General Staff to desist from making plans for war upon France, England, and other nations. So far as one can tell from this book, Mr. Baker's management of the war could not have been improved upon in any way. Others will not be so certain, particularly if they recall some of the war-contract provisions.

One reason for Mr. Palmer's satisfaction is that he writes from the military point of view. The author of an excellent anti-war book, "The Folly of Nations," Mr. Palmer, who ten years ago wrote that a militant Christianity should never be found "justifying war, never excusing war," must in his latest volume delight every militarist. Never a word here against war, but a complete acceptance of the military ideology, a complete adoration of the military caste. What gratifies Mr. Palmer most about Secretary Baker is that he was such a pliant scholar in the hands of the generals. On taking office he turned to General Hugh L. Scott, the Chief of Staff, and said: "General Scott, you know all about this. I know nothing. You must treat me as a father would his son." It is hardly necessary to add that General Scott took him at his word, and so did others in uniform bestow their paternal care upon the new Secretary, who walked dutifully in the paths laid out before him—Mr. Palmer notes happily how Generals Scott and March instructed him "in true military principles." He records with particular approval that one of Mr. Baker's first acts was to ask General Scott what the country should do in the matter of punishing General Villa for the attack upon Columbus, New Mexico, and the killing of American citizens there which had just taken place. Scott wished the American force already in pursuit in New Mexico to continue its invasion and to send a larger force after it. Without stopping one moment to hear the facts, to ponder upon the risks this violation of the sovereignty of a weaker neighboring nation involved, or even to discuss with the President or the Department of State what the proper policy should be, Mr. Baker replied to General Scott, "without raising his voice: 'Then let us proceed.'"

While this delights Mr. Palmer's soul, he characteristically fails to record that that Pershing expedition into Mexico returned in humiliation without having achieved its purpose, which was bombastically proclaimed to be the capture of Villa "dead or alive." Yet it is impossible to withhold praise from Mr. Baker for many of his official acts, notably for his policy of keeping politics out of the War Department, and of giving entire responsibility to Pershing and backing him up to the fullest extent after he assumed the responsibilities of Commanding General in France. But in the main Mr. Palmer's admiration is obviously due to Mr. Baker's steady subordination of any civilian control to that of the generals, to his blindly following the wishes of the military men. Did Mr. Baker repeatedly violate laws and statutes and risk going to jail? Why, splendid, splendid; Mr. Palmer rubs his hands with joy and points to it

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as another step in what he calls "the evolution of democracy toward what was to be known as an industrial dictatorship" and "an autocracy of war." Were there virtue, manliness, and courage in America's hosts in France? Well, that was simply because of West Point: "West Point, in its proud professional cult, had kept the watch-fires of discipline burning, and now they were to light the drill grounds of the masses of our manhood"! On pages 79-81, Volume I, Mr. Palmer tells the story of how Mr. Baker's father joined J. E. B. Stuart's rebel cavalry. No less than seven times thereafter he refers to the "son of Jeb Stuart's trooper."

Now, perhaps it was necessary for Mr. Palmer thus to bow down before the military and to reconstruct the spirit and atmosphere of war days in order to work himself up to concert pitch, to put the enthusiasm into his writing which gives it its verve and force. But if that is the case no one must be led into thinking that this is either history or accurate narrative. In this book, certainly, he has forgotten all about that "patient fidelity to history" with which Mr. Baker charged him. This is the more curious because he admits that the atrocity stories were merely propaganda on both sides; that there were no submarine atrocities (this on the word of Admiral Sims); no Belgian children with hands cut off; that in signing that bogus report of German atrocities in Belgium, Lord Bryce was merely "doing his bit," unhallowed as it may have been, for democracy and his country; that the similar German stories of atrocities were equally abominable libels upon the Americans and the Allies. None the less, Mr. Palmer's narrative is shot through with acceptance of other war-time lies which investigation would have disproved. The worst of these is his reviving in these words that hoary old falsehood as to the sinking of the Lusitania: "That the sinking had been premeditated was proved by the warning of April 29, from the German Foreign Office to Americans, not to sail on the Lusitania." Had Mr. Palmer troubled to read that notice, he would have found no reference whatever to the Lusitania in it. For his information here is this diabolical notice in full:

NOTICE !

> Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain or of any of her allies are liable to destruction in those waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.
> *Imperial German Embassy*
> *Washington, D. C., April 22, 1915*

Had he delved further he could have found just how many weeks before the sailing of the Lusitania that advertisement was received at the German Embassy in Washington. He could even have read in excellent translation the narrative of the U-boat commander who consummated that horrible massacre upon the high seas—a deed so inhumane and indefensible as to call for no distortion or misrepresentation of facts. If he had simply reasoned a little bit about the affair he must have known that it was an impossibility for any U-boat to pick up a given ship on any particular voyage since the courses were constantly changed and the rate of speed was entirely dependent upon weather and the orders of the Admiralty. Did the Lusitania on its arrival off the Irish coast reduce its speed to fifteen knots so that it might meet the U-boat at the right moment and right place? Did the Germans arrange to have the dense fog lift just at the moment the Lusitania approached the submarine? If they could pick up the Lusitania by premeditation, why did the Germans not get the Mauretania, the Olympic, and all the rest? Thus is history falsified.

Again, in speaking of the Spanish-American War, Mr. Palmer trots out a still hoarier falsehood: "The hand of McKinley . . . was forced by the public indignation" which led to the slogan "Remember the Maine." Had Mr. Palmer read the official documents, or even Rhoades's history, he could never have made such a statement; he would at least have learned that Spain had yielded everything that Mr. McKinley asked, that Mr. McKinley pocketed the dispatch and suppressed its publication, and, as Mr. Rhoades puts it, went into the war simply and solely in order to obtain political kudos for his party. Throughout the book runs the argument for the greatest military preparedness, so that it will unquestionably be the most popular textbook in the Army War College. Today Mr. Palmer believes that "the instinctive will of a people about national self-preservation forms its military policy"; and that "a strong navy was the lock on the door against the burglar"—which doubtless explains why, when we were without a navy for one hundred years, with all our potential wealth we never had a foreign war that was not of our own seeking.

But even from the point of view of writing a military tract, there are many inexcusable slips in Mr. Palmer's text. Thus, he declares that President Wilson's preparedness speeches were made in the "summer of 1916," whereas they were delivered in January and February, and he connives at the official misrepresentation of the President's speech in St. Louis, February 3, 1916, and records him as having said that he wanted a navy "second to none," whereas what the President really said was that he wanted *"incomparably the strongest navy"* in the world. Twice he erroneously declares that, like Generals Pershing and Wood, General Thomas H. Barry was jumped from lower rank over many of his superiors to a generalcy; as a matter of fact, General Barry passed through every grade, and served two years as colonel before becoming a brigadier. Mr. Palmer, who so adores that military school, says that the statue before the War College which was taken down at the outbreak of war was one of General von Steuben, the Prussian drill-master of Washington's army; instead, it was a statue of Frederick the Great presented to the War College, and joyously accepted with deep reverence by its officers, from no less a person than the War Lord, Kaiser Wilhelm himself. The Governor General of the Philippines becomes at Mr. Palmer's hands "Franklin" Burton Harrison, and the distinguished hotel manager Mr. Bowman becomes John E. McBowman; Miss Anna Shaw, Mrs. Anna Shaw; General Francis J. Kernan, Francis E. Kernan, and so on. It is not true that George Harvey "ended the career of the once-powerful *Harper's Weekly*"; that was carried on for some years afterward by Norman Hapgood.

On page 305 Mr. Palmer tells us that on May 20, 1918, Congress authorized the registration of all who had become of draft age after the first registration of June 5, 1917; on the next page he tells us that on August 24 Congress "amended the Selective Service Act to enrol all youths who had become twenty-one since June 5, 1917." He asserts that after the President's Lusitania note Germany "secretly hastened a large submarine-construction program" (should they, when at war, have announced it to the world?); it was in August, 1918, just before the Armistice, that Germany placed orders for really extensive submarine construction. Errors like these naturally cast doubt upon the reliability of many other statements. And so does, for example, Mr. Palmer's discussion of Mr. Baker's treatment of the conscientious objectors. He admits that the Baker policy (contrary to instructions from President Wilson) "turned severe in sending to jail those who would neither work nor fight." But he does not say anything about the horrible tortures that they were subjected to in our prisons by military men under the direct orders of Newton D. Baker, men such as Colonel Sedgwick Rice in charge of Leaven-

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worth, and the commander of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, under whom these martyrs to their consciences were spread-eagled to the doors of their cells. There were dreadful brutalities leading to deaths and maimings for life; Mr. Baker did not finally stop these tortures until *after the war,* December 6, 1918.

What is the picture one gets of Mr. Baker? It is that of a man of great executive ability and marked eloquence, but without fixed principles or political philosophy. Like his chief, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Baker was able to move from the principles and beliefs he had long advocated, to turn into the complete autocrat. That he did the job of autocrat efficiently is of far less importance today than the fact that he could swing from his own moorings and justify all his acts by extraordinarily skilful arguments. Mr. Palmer has convinced me that if we need a President of strong autocratic and fascist leanings in the present economic emergency we should elect Mr. Baker, and that he would cheerfully justify every extra-legal act by a skilful lawyer's and dialectician's argument to prove that every step he was taking was quite within the authority of the Constitution, and in keeping with our finest American tradition.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

"The Mystic and Bizarre Emily"

Letters of Emily Dickinson. Edited by Mabel Loomis Todd. Harper and Brothers. $4.

ALTHOUGH this volume solves none of the problems that have been agitating Emily Dickinson's biographers, it is a valuable contribution to the study of her life. To Mrs. Todd, as coeditor of the first two volumes of poems, editor of the third volume, and editor of the first collection of letters, we owe an immense debt of gratitude. When the first enthusiasm for Emily Dickinson yielded to apathy, Mrs. Todd was forgotten; and by the time the inevitable revival came, Mrs. Bianchi was on the scene. Now this edition reminds us of Mrs. Todd's importance in the whole situation, and gives us as well an authoritative collection of the letters. Mrs. Bianchi, taking advantage of the fact that the copyright of the earlier edition had expired in 1922, reprinted a large part of its contents in her "Life and Letters of Emily Dickinson." But the desire to save space led her to omit many letters and fragments of letters, and she took some liberties in her editing. The new edition gives us all that the first contained, together with a few letters and many portions of letters that were omitted in 1894.

Though it goes without saying that we welcome any new material that relates to Emily Dickinson, it has to be admitted that most of the additions are comparatively trivial. There are, however, a few passages that give us fresh insight into Emily's religious difficulties, the state of her health, and the nature of her relations and her brother's with their father. There are also the citations from Colonel Higginson's diary and letters, showing more clearly than ever the bewilderment that his protege—his "partially cracked poetess at Amherst"—aroused in him. Finally, and most important, there are the letters to J. D. and C. H. Clark about the Reverend Charles Wadsworth—supposed by some to be Emily's mysterious lover. These letters prove nothing; nearly thirty years had elapsed since the supposedly fateful meeting in Philadelphia, and it is scarcely to be expected that, even if Emily had felt some sort of passion in 1854, she would betray it in 1882. But the letters most assuredly do not support the theory; they suggest, if anything, a very different sort of relationship, a relationship as humble and as intellectual as, say, the relationship between Emily and Colonel Higginson.

Yet it must be said that the reading of these letters—the old as well as the new—does give the impression that something happened in 1854. Colonel Higginson felt it. "It is extraordinary," he wrote Mrs. Todd, "how the mystic and bizarre Emily is born at once between two pages." As one reads these letters, which are arranged according to their recipients, one notices in each chapter that stretches for any distance both before and after 1854 the difference that makes itself felt at about that date. It may have been because she heard Dr. Wadsworth preach, or because she met Major Hunt, or because she again talked with George Gould, or because she met some other man; it may have had nothing to do with men; but something made that trip to Philadelphia the turning-point in Emily Dickinson's life.

Interesting as it would be to know precisely what it was that set Emily so squarely upon the path she was thereafter to follow, we must not forget how relatively trivial the matter is. What is important is for all material concerning her to be secured against personal whim and the sense of private ownership. Mrs. Todd has apparently laid her cards on the table. When will Mrs. Bianchi follow her example? The *Saturday Review of Literature* has made the excellent suggestion that the manuscripts should be turned over to Amherst College. This would be a great step, both because of the possibility that further poems would be discovered and because of the certainty that a careful study of the handwriting would result in important revelations. It is difficult to see how Mrs. Bianchi, if she has any sense of the responsibility that her kinship to the poet has imposed upon her, can resist the appeal.

GRANVILLE HICKS

African Biography

Chaka: An Historical Romance. By Thomas Mofolo. Translated from the original Sesuto by F. H. Dutton. Oxford University Press. $3.

THIS life of the great African warrior, Chaka, is a distinguished contribution to recent biography. Thomas Mofolo, the author, is a native of Basutoland who writes in his own Sesuto, one of the Bantu tongues. We are told in the introduction that this is not his first work, but that he has published two novels in his native language which concern themselves with his people.

The life of Chaka has fascinated all those who have touched upon it. An outcast boy, with the stigma that attaches to the child born of a Zulu mating before marriage, Chaka overcame obstacle after obstacle, ending his life in a debauchery of bloodshed, his name to go down in history as one of the world's great warriors and conquerors. He lived at about the time of Napoleon, and his exploits on the battlefield fully warrant the title of "the black Napoleon" he has been given by white historians.

Nothing of the point of view of the white man is found in Mr. Mofolo's book, where the author is above all an African writing in terms of his own civilization. The characterizations of Isanusi the witch doctor, of Ndlebe and Malunga, sent by Isanusi to help Chaka, are superb. The development of the plot, which shows how Chaka in his lust for power sacrificed everyone who was dear to him—his beloved, his benefactor, and finally his mother; the manner in which his growing suspicion and insistence on reverence toward his person are shown to have made him more and more bloodthirsty; the description of the disintegration of the character of the man under the influence of the witch doctor—all of these show the touch of a skilled hand.

Books of this character are rare enough, but books of

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this character that achieve the standard set by Mr. Mofolo have hitherto not been found at all. The biography is to be recommended as a tale fascinating enough for any reader. But for the person who is interested in gaining insight into the thought processes of a people whose civilization is entirely different from his own, and whose behavior springs from traditions with which his own have nothing in common, a reading of this life of Chaka will give a point of view that no work by a European observer, however well trained, can possibly give.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Parasitic Profits

Graft in Business. By John T. Flynn. The Vanguard Press. $3.

THERE is good precedent for believing that men cannot justly serve two masters. It is Mr. Flynn's belief that the deliberate disregard of this rather elementary principle by our business leaders is responsible for much of what he calls graft in business—the indirect, unearned, parasitic profits made by corporation officials who use other people's money and property for their own ends. There can be little doubt that serious weaknesses exist in the present system of interlocking directorates through which bankers and industrialists pledge their services to innumerable groups of stockholders. For through these intricate relationships they not infrequently appear on both sides of the same transaction—they represent both the buyer and the seller. Nowhere is this more apparent, or more vicious, than in the investment-trust field, where it is common practice for investment bankers, the merchants of stocks and bonds, to act as the directors of trusts, the purchasers of those securities. Inevitably, in such circumstances, they are acting in conflicting capacities. Even if their intentions are of the very best, their position is none the less equivocal. Judging from the evidence in this book, it seems pretty clear that the consequences of this dual responsibility are not always to the advantage of the stockholders whom the directors are supposed to be serving. There are, to be sure, other factors in the diversion of secret profits, but the interlocking directorate seems to make temptation doubly tempting.

Mr. Flynn discloses in detail the manner in which eminent bankers and business men have abused the trust relationship. His material comes largely from cases of management failures which have been exposed in court, for it is only in this way that the public, or even the stockholders, finds out some of the secrets of so-called private business. Here one may learn how the director of a railroad purchased a water-power site from the railroad for $600,000 and immediately exchanged it for $5,000,000 par value securities of an electric-utility company which he controlled; how four prominent oil executives arranged to buy 33,000,000 barrels of oil through a dummy corporation and then resell it to their own companies at a personal profit of 25 cents a barrel; how an important steel official, who felt that "his boys"—a small group of executives—should be rewarded with bonuses, gave them over a period of years about $32,000,000, nearly as much as the real owners of the company, the common stockholders, received in dividends during the same period; how the trusted officials of a large New York bank so manipulated an intricate holding-company set-up that they would be entitled to a return of 47 per cent on their personal investment, while the investment of the bank itself would receive less than 7 per cent; and how some well-known New York bankers "reorganized" a rubber company in difficulties, making an alleged profit of $15,000,000 or more for their various services. These and many other examples Mr. Flynn analyzes clearly and unsparingly.

The technique of turning a quick million may vary slightly from case to case, but the principle is always the same—the use of other people's money by those in an influential position to make a sumptuous personal profit. This profit, it should be borne in mind, is quite apart from the normal, reasonable rewards or salaries to which officials are ordinarily entitled for their services. It would be a grave misconception of the problem, however, to consider the men who take these exorbitant commissions, bonuses, what-you-will, as criminals. For they are not. They gain their graft through a strictly legal—though unfaithful—use of our present-day corporate machinery. Moreover, they remain respected members of society, despite these practices.

There can be little improvement in corporate ethics, Mr. Flynn believes, until "this vicious practice [interlocking directorates] is brought to an end." With this in mind he proposes that the use of the holding company be made illegal under all circumstances and that, likewise, the holding of stock in one corporation by another be prohibited—or strictly limited to insurance and investment companies. One can hardly believe, however, that he really has much faith in these reforms. For how much headway will this program make, when the whole industrial movement today seems to be forcing corporate control into fewer and fewer hands? Combination proceeds apace, irrespective of anti-trust legislation, and thus multiplies endlessly the conflicting responsibilities of financial and industrial management. The disfranchisement of the large body of investors is of course a further problem in the growing corporate maze. "How this is to be remedied," confesses Mr. Flynn, "is not very clear. It will result, I think, in certain evolutionary developments which will have a profound influence on our social system." Clearly there is in this little immediate hope either for present stockholders or the general public, which finally bears the burden of mismanagement.

In addition to the respectable form of corporate graft, Mr. Flynn also discusses at length the common garden variety, commercial bribery. This he finds widespread, running in and out of nearly all forms of business. It is practiced by subordinates—clerks and salesmen—sometimes with and sometimes without the knowledge of their employers. To curb the practice, he suggests a federal law backed up by appropriate State legislation. But at bottom he feels the real solution depends on a stronger passion for ethical conduct, not only in business, but in society itself. Mr. Flynn's book, in short, is perhaps more challenging in its implications than in its actual content. For the eradication of graft may require a regeneration more thoroughgoing than is contemplated in any of the remedies here proposed.

W. P. MANGOLD

Books in Brief

Portrait of an American. By Robert P. Tristram Coffin. The Macmillan Company. $2.

This saga of a plain, hard-working Maine lobster fisherman, reader of Shakespeare, father of a large family, storyteller, lover of wild nature, has too much of the panegyric in its style to preserve its presumable intention of being the history of a real American. The portions of the book which deal with the young man's experiences in the Civil War would be particularly good if they did not seem such direct imitations of "The Red Badge of Courage."

Mary Lee. By Geoffrey Dennis. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

A reprint of Mr. Dennis's first and best novel, originally published in 1922. It describes the childhood of an orphan girl, born in 1848 and brought up among a group of Plymouth

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Brethren in southwestern England. It is narrated in the first person, and the main themes are the loneliness of the heroine and the cruelty of her pious relatives. The Brethren are grotesques portrayed with remarkable vividness, and the author's interpretation of the mind of his heroine is astonishingly real. Lacking Dickens's humor but excelling him in artistry, Mr. Dennis has written a book closely akin in mood to "Bleak House" and "Great Expectations"; he recalls Dickens also in his melodramatic plot and his sentimentally improbable happy ending. "Mary Lee" is a very faulty book, but it is as vibrantly alive as any novel published since the war. It is to be hoped that this reprint will make the author better known.

The Pastor of Poggsee. By Gustav Frenssen. Translated by Katharine G. Potts. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

This is the story of a Holstein village in peace and war, revolution and reconstruction. And it is the story of one man, a good man with strong natural passions, a man of the people whose simplicity accompanies an instinctive feeling for racial culture. The story is grounded on sound realism. The overtones are sentimental and idealistic—but these qualities are harmonious with the spirit of the people and the place; and they never overstep the mark. It is not a novel of propaganda, but its meanings become clear as the story and principal character develop together. It is peace that all men want, peace and natural human pleasures and satisfactions, both of the body and the spirit. War is always evil—even revolution in a good cause. There is a flavor of Tolstoyan religious philosophy in its message. But as a novel it is moving, dramatic, and convincing.

Contemporary Thought of India. By A. C. Underwood. *Contemporary Thought of Germany.* Volume I. By W. Tudor Jones. Alfred A. Knopf. Each $2.50.

The two present volumes in this series have been preceded by treatments of contemporary thought in Italy, France, Great Britain, and Japan and China (in one volume). They are to be followed by the concluding volume on Germany, and volumes on America and the Scandinavian nations. Mr. Jones's volume is a helpful attempt to make clear to the general reader the systems of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schlegel, Herder, Herbart, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and the other great minds of the nineteenth century which gave Germany preeminence in philosophy and which in some instances, notably Fichte and Nietzsche, powerfully influenced social and political movements. The language of philosophy is necessarily so specialized that even Mr. Jones's simplification requires rather patient reading. In the "Contemporary Thought of India" Mr. Underwood shows that politics has preempted the place of philosophy, and the thinker is perforce a politician or a social reformer. The book resolves itself into a discussion of the different degrees of readiness that Indian opinion shows for a break from the British Empire and from its own institutions and traditions. Unfortunately Mr. Underwood, whose own opinions are not hard to guess, manages in his effort to be objective to be merely inhibited.

The Black Mass. By Peter N. Krassnoff. Illustrated by Rhea Wells. Duffield and Green. $2.50.

General Krassnoff was a prominent figure in the Russian counter-revolution, and he remains one of the leaders in the exiled white Russian party which looks for a return of the old regime. This long short story compounded of mysticism, horror, and propaganda ends with the words, "Communism will die—but Russia will live!" The tale is not a success. The black magic of the great Satanist, the celebration of the Black Mass, the rape and suicide of the girl who turned from God to Satan are intended to be of symbolic significance in the light of Russian events.

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Double Blossoms. A Helen Keller Anthology. Compiled by Edna Porter. Lewis Copeland. $2.

This is a collection of poems from the poets who have felt the significance of Helen Keller's life. Many well-known names are included—Robert Frost, Witter Bynner, Laura Benét, Marjorie Allen Seiffert, Clinch Calkins, John Varney, Evelyn Scott, Countee Cullen, to name only a few. It is interesting to note how poets feel about blindness, which sometimes grants intensity of spiritual insight.

Their Fathers' God. By O. E. Rölvaag. Translated from the Norwegian by Trygve M. Ager. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

Since his fine "Giants in the Earth" all Rövaag's novels have been disappointing. His latest, a sequel to "Peder Victorious," is no exception. The story tells of Peder Holm's married life with Susie, the shallow and slipshod Irish-Catholic girl. Peder matures, grows ambitious, and begins to think for himself along many lines. Susie, instinctively unhappy among these dour Norwegians, turns back to her religion. The emotional and spiritual struggle that goes on between them comes to center on Susie's religion, more particularly on the symbols of it that she brings into the house. The conflict over religion is courageously handled. But Rölvaag's hand is too heavy for domestic drama. It is better adapted to work of the broad and powerful sweep of his first novel.

Art

An Essay on Marin

IF the almost simultaneous exhibition of striking work in three distinct mediums can make a year an artist's, then the last year was surely Marin's. During the summer An American Place published an elegant collection of his racy and delightful letters; and flanking his annual autumnal water-color show it hung a group of his new impressive experiments in oil. All three exhibits were capital; and because of the parallelisms between them, Marin stood revealed with the breadth of effect which emboldens criticism to essay a definition of the rare phenomenon.

The reality imparted by the triple exhibition was the vital equilibrium of a man in rapid motion. Marin's letters, for instance, are full of quick shrewd reactions, and spontaneous mixtures of whimsicality and horse sense, imagination and understanding. A nervous but equal temperament and an unbroken line of life are evident throughout them, by reason of the homogeneity and ease and naturalness of their expressions of varying subjects and circumstances. One sees the author in the likeness of a good little power boat, meeting the changing winds and seas of the world, and adjusting himself to them without loss of direction or of impetus. Precisely what Marin's motor and center of gravity are, we can merely infer. It may be a steady vision of the equilibrium in the apparent turmoil of things; the whole man's secret sympathy with the restless form-giver of life; a complete adjustment to a rocking world. Whatever it is, Marin apparently is very much at home in his element, very much filled with his own world; and also free of the necessity of rationalizing and formulating his own activity. He is the least cerebral of artists, and the most self-assured: plainly without either overweening conceit or undue humility; and perfectly aware of the object of his work. When he speaks of it, he casts clear light on it. In one place we read, "Combinations of nature's products, formed by a certain Kind of Human, and called Art products, have an exalted value . . . in that they

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put in motion the Spirit, through the eye, and approach the great Seeing." In another place he says, "This my picture must not make one feel that it bursts its boundaries. That would be a delusion, and I would have it that nothing must cut my picture off from its finalities. And, too, I am not to be destructive within. I can have things that clash. I can have a jolly good fight going on. There is always a fight going on where there are living things. But I must be able to control this fight at will with a Blessed Equilibrium." To those aware of the nature of Marin's art, these phrases exhibit a perfect self-consciousness and aplomb, and send one to that art with a zest for the rich and direct communication of the balance adumbrated by the words.

Marin's washes communicate it through an architectural form which brings the eye into motion. This form is neither calculated nor synthetic, but the result of a visual experience automatically interpreted in terms of water color. It represents the world seen by us under conditions of fast motion: the world which looks rhythmic, as though its balance were incessantly displacing itself; the artist has but built it up within the limits of his medium. There, it compels the eye through sequences of those pairs of asymmetrical, overbalanced figures, angular and circular, obtuse and incurved, beak-shaped and bell-shaped, through which nature reveals herself to sight. These shapes both complement each other and in conjunction form other overbalanced figures; and these in turn are complemented by further antithetical shapes; the sequence is more or less prolonged. In some instances it is brief; the sequential pairs are few and widely spaced, and the rhythm is nervous, staccato, spurt-like. In others the series is complex, gradual, and multiple, and the rhythm correspondingly slow and majestic. In all cases the sequences are brought to a rest within the borders of the paintings. Besides, the units of the forms are correlated by a single quality of tone. Thus, the eye, impelled to grasp these temporal sequences of figures and to seek their points of rest, communicates to the whole person both the movements expressed by them and the balances which they achieve.

The time element in Marin's form is not the only agency of ocular motion. All the component elements of the microcosm of water color are so clashingly juxtaposed by him, particularly in his later works, that the receptive eye jumps from position to position in the effort to grasp their relationships. These clashes exist in relationships of color, texture, linear direction, and intrinsic momentum of stroke and wash; the contrasts are frequently extreme. While Marin's color schemes are predominantly cool, they include large and immediate contrasts of warm and cool qualities of color, intense because of their subtlety; and there are continual references of all colors to the extreme of white. The contrasts of texture are equally daring. The eye passes from shaggy washes spattered on the paper to areas smooth as satin; from tactile realizations of roundness to tactile realizations of flatness; from ethereal veil-like substance to wash possessing a stone-like consistency and weight. The different momentums of the hand registered by the washes likewise contrast: one finds scudding cascades of paint opposed to slow pools of it; and movements swift as airplanes playing against movements slow as freight trains. Still, these contrasting values are never completely heterogeneous. They are subtly co-responsive; they are what Marin himself calls "neighbor identities"; and he sees their complete correlation as one of the principal exercises of his art. A certain ethereal gray, for example, must be sufficiently consistent to "support" the heavy, gritty brown or cobalt blue he lays upon it.

Besides, the Marins have the beauty and magnificence of things born of the whole coordinate man, created but not made. The technique by which Marin communicates the unity of things seen and felt by the mobile person is itself a living

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thing, with nothing of the cold formula about it. It appears perfectly impulsive and unpremeditated, a kind of second nature born of long experience of a particular medium; and its application has all the hallmarks of the quasi-instinctive response of the whole man to the creative moment. Thus, the freshness, the sensuous loveliness, the luminosity and harmony of the Marin water color finally escape explanation. The answer to the question of how majestic forms so complexly balanced and exquisitely representative as theirs can retain the purity of a burst of song, and all the song's indefinable glamor, must confine itself to the statement that the artist and the medium are in complete accord; and that the accord is the result of a complete adjustment of both to American life. Water color is a peculiarly American medium. As Hartley wrote ten years ago, "Few outside of Cézanne have done more with it than the Americans Whistler, Sargent Winslow Homer, Dodge MacKnight, Charles Demuth, and John Marin." The capacity for quick decision required by it, and for the expression of the life of the moment and the movement which inheres in it, has made it particularly accessible and attractive to men of the nation whose soil and climate and mode of life demand a nervous balance, a quick responsiveness. And Marin's recent matchless success with the medium would appear to flow simply from his perfect adaptation to American conditions we have noticed in connection with his letters; from his complete incarnation of the American temperament and genius.

PAUL ROSENFELD

Drama

Lynching Bee

ONLY rarely is a critic of the drama forced to remind himself of the fact that intelligence, sincerity, and force are not, in themselves, necessarily enough. Compelled as he is to spend the major part of his time in the contemplation of stupid or shoddy ineptitudes, he forgets that even the most honest spectacle is artistically a failure unless it can exalt or heal, and he is shocked when he is brought face to face with a powerful drama of which he is compelled to say simply that it is, somehow or other, "from the purpose of playing." He has been interested and he has been moved but the experience undergone has left no valuable residue behind. It has passed like a nightmare from which one is merely glad to have been awakened at last.

Such is the effect produced by "Never No More"—the dramatized lynching bee most admirably produced and acted at the Hudson Theater by an all Negro cast. Telling in the simplest and directest terms the tale of a typical burning, it never for an instant turns aside from its remorseless narrative, and with the possible exception of one melodramatic bit near the end it never ceases for an instant to be utterly convincing. But the tortured spectator would be glad if it did, and would welcome anything—even a false note—capable of relieving for a moment the strain of continuous horror and of saving him from an author who has determined to spare him nothing. Since the false note does not come, one is compelled to wait eagerly for the final curtain, and one goes out on to the street too glad that it is all over to weigh the qualities of a performance concerning which one knows only that it has been almost intolerably distressing. No doubt the author intended to shock, and by shocking to arouse. It was his purpose to imprint upon the minds of his audience an unforgettable picture of the horrors of lynching and to remedy that lack of imagination which alone can make a public indifferent to such savagery

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The Barretts of Wimpole Street—Empire—B'way. & 40 St.

The Band Wagon—New Amsterdam—W. 42 St.

The Bride The Sun Shines On—Fulton—46 St. W. of B'way.

The Devil Passes—Selwyn—W. 42 St.

The Good Fairy—Henry Miller's—124 W. 43 St.

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as he here describes. But even the finest sermon is useless if preached to empty pews, and if one is determined to do people good in the theater one must first get them into it—a fact which seems to have been forgotten by those responsible for the play now in question. It will fail as propaganda because it will not be heard, and it has failed already as art because it does not contain within itself its own justification or provide any outlet for the emotions which it arouses.

Perhaps a genuinely beautiful play might be written on the same theme if it were concerned with the spiritual repercussions of the events here described, but "Never No More" keeps the attention focused upon physical facts and becomes in effect a melodrama which has been deprived of that simple and satisfactory solution which makes melodrama's elementary delights possible. Instead of being concerned with the meaning of its events, it is concerned with the events themselves, and it devotes the entire second act to the actual lynching, to the building of the fire, the pleas of the victim, and the final tossing to the flames—all of which takes place just off stage while the agonized family looks on. No poetry, no subtlety, and no thought could be noticed in the presence of such brutal facts. The sensibilities and the nerves are violently as well as skilfully assaulted, but only sensibilities and nerves are concerned. No one but a sadist could enjoy the play, and all art must be in some fashion—however complicated or difficult—enjoyable. Otherwise it is not, whatever else it may be, art at all.

In "The Devil Passes" (Selwyn Theater) the sprightly author of "Springtime for Henry" has succumbed to a temptation to which playwrights are unaccountably subject and has written a comedy about God. If he had stopped for a moment to contemplate the uniform badness of all similar attempts from "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" on down to such more recent lapses as Molnar's "Mima" and Savoir's "He," he might have come to the conclusion that the whole attempt is inept, but evidently he did not and the result is interesting chiefly as one more illustration of the fact that the theology of even entertaining dramatists is likely to be excessively boresome. Mr. Levy—if we must take him seriously—seems to have fallen into the Manichean heresy and devotes his play to the attempt to show how the devil is really doing God's work by providing those opportunities for evil which virtue gains strength by resisting. Into a house-party composed of boastfully hard-boiled egotists he introduces a sinister-looking curate who shows each how his heart's desire can be obtained at the cost of a dirty deed, and when each has discovered to his surprise his own essential decency, the curate departs, leaving behind the suspicion not only that he was the devil himself, but that the latter is not so black as he is painted. Mr. Levy's dialogue is amusing as it always is, but neither he nor the unusually talented cast can overcome the terrible handicap imposed by a painfully mechanical as well as painfully trivial fable. Perhaps God is really good and perhaps the reasons for doubting the fact may be adequately disposed of, but the argument is rather too complicated as well as rather too momentous to be settled by an anecdote. Frivolity is delightful under many circumstances but not in its more serious moments.

"The Black Tower" (Sam Harris Theater) is a melodrama of the green-lights and secret-doors variety. If you are interested in the career of a mad physician who kidnaps the victims of his sinister experiments conducted in a lonely tower, then see it by all means. Unlike "Never No More" it is not painfully convincing.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Contributors to This Issue

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